

A SOURCE-BOOK OF ANCIENT HISTORY



THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

NEW YORK • BOSTON • CHICAGO
DALLAS • SAN FRANCISCO

MACMILLAN & CO., LIMITED

LONDON • BOMBAY • CALCUTTA
MELBOURNE

THE MACMILLAN CO. OF CANADA, LTD.

TORONTO

Elshler
January 8
1913

D
52

7-87

37413



A SOURCE-BOOK OF ANCIENT HISTORY

BY

GEORGE WILLIS BOTSFORD, PH. D.

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY; AUTHOR OF "THE
DEVELOPMENT OF THE ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION," "THE ROMAN
ASSEMBLIES," "A HISTORY OF GREECE," "A HISTORY OF
ROME," "A HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT WORLD," ETC.

AND

LILLIE SHAW BOTSFORD

AUTHOR (WITH G. W. BOTSFORD) OF

"THE STORY OF ROME AS GREEKS AND ROMANS TELL IT"

New York

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1912

All rights reserved

2733

COPYRIGHT, 1912,
By THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
Set up and electrotyped. Published December, 1912.

✓
12-28444

PRESS OF T. MOREY & SON
GREENFIELD, MASS., U. S. A.

PREFACE

THIS volume may be used in connection with any course in Ancient History. It is especially intended, however, to serve as an auxiliary to Botsford's "History of the Ancient World." The material has accordingly been arranged in chapters parallel to those of this text-book, to which references are constantly given.

Some of the selections have been translated by friends—especially by Dr. E. G. Sihler of New York University and Miss Rachel R. Hiller—and others by ourselves; but most of them have been taken from published translations, to which credit is duly given. Particularly in the case of excerpts from translations by scholars of recognized merit, we have followed the policy of making the least possible revision, even to the extent of allowing some inconsistencies in the spelling of proper names. Readers will thus be reminded that the spelling of Greek names is far from being standardized.

As to the use of the volume, we advise that the pupils read each chapter in connection with their study of the corresponding chapter of the text-book. The questions, which suggest the more important facts to be gathered from the selections, are to be regarded merely as examples. The teacher may modify or expand them according to the needs of the class. In the case of the more mature pupils, greater attention should be given to a study of the authors and to the critical appreciation of the selections than these illustrative questions indicate. In such work the pupils could advantageously use Murray's "History of Ancient Greek Literature;" Mahaffy's

"History of Classical Greek Literature;" Mackail's "Latin Literature;" Duff's "Literary History of Rome;" Teuffel and Schwabe's "History of Roman Literature;" and the histories of Greece and of Rome by Grote, Curtius, Holm, Mommsen, Duruy, and others. Historical criticism, however, involving the careful weighing of evidence and the valuation of the reliability of authors and documents, is an exceedingly complex and difficult work, which must in the main be reserved for students of University grade.

It is to be noticed that the questions rarely call for an expression of opinion as to the right or wrong, the folly or wisdom, of an action. It is true that when an act is obviously right or wrong, the character of the pupil may be strengthened by his being called upon to pronounce judgment; but nothing so conduces to superficial self-sufficiency as the practice of declaring off-hand opinions on subjects but partially and one-sidedly known. The power of discrimination, most essential to a well-developed mind, may be better cultivated by exercise in determining, for instance, what is relevant and what irrelevant to a given subject, what are the facts in the case and what is merely opinion, what are the essential elements of a given subject, and what are its connections with related subjects. In text-books the material is so selected and arranged as to train the memory more than any other mental faculty. The sources, on the other hand, while bringing the reader into close, almost personal touch with the individuals and events treated, have the advantage of presenting a body of raw material, on which the mind may exercise itself, especially in discrimination. The selections would be robbed of this value by excessive comment and by the elimination of all obscurities, un-

familiar names, and other difficulties. It will be a great advantage to the pupil to learn by experience that, without being able to pronounce every proper name or to clear up every difficulty in a given passage, he may yet extract useful information from it. With no detriment to himself or to others, he may learn, too, at an early age that neither teacher nor author is omniscient.

There are already in existence good source-books for Greece and Rome, to which references are given in Botsford's text-books in ancient history. To those who wish a greater amount of source material on Rome, woven into a connected, readable narrative extending from the founding of the city to the death of Marcus Aurelius, and abounding in interesting sketches of characters and customs, we recommend our "Story of Rome as Greeks and Romans tell it." The present volume may claim the unique merit of rendering Oriental sources available for high-school and college courses in ancient history. It includes, too, certain classes of sources for Greece and Rome not represented in other books of the kind. The aim, however, has been not novelty but usefulness.

EXPLANATIONS

Greece, *Rome*, and *Ancient World* are abbreviated titles of Botsford, *History of Greece*, *History of Rome*, and *History of the Ancient World*, respectively.

Words supplied by the editors are enclosed in parentheses.

The design on the cover represents a herm of Herodotus now in the Berlin Museum.

GEORGE WILLIS BOTSFORD

LILLIE SHAW BOTSFORD

MOUNT VERNON, New York,

October 30, 1912.

CONTENTS

BOOK I

THE ORIENTAL NATIONS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION TO THE SOURCES.	1
II. EGYPT.	5
III. THE TIGRIS-EUPHRATES VALLEY.	27
IV. SYRIA: THE PHŒNICIANS AND THE HEBREWS.	42
V. THE MEDIAN AND PERSIAN EMPIRES.	55

BOOK II

HELLAS

VI. INTRODUCTION TO THE SOURCES.	67
VII. THE CRETAN AND MYCENÆAN CIVILIZATIONS.	77
VIII. THE EPIC OR HOMERIC AGE.	81
IX. MYTH AND RELIGION.	88
X. THE CITY-STATE AND ITS DEVELOPMENT.	97
XI. ECONOMY AND COLONIZATION.	103
XII. THE RISE OF SPARTA AND THE PELOPONNESIAN LEAGUE	111
XIII. ATHENS: FROM MONARCHY TO DEMOCRACY.	123
XIV. THE POETS AND THE PHILOSOPHERS.	141
XV. THE IONIC REVOLT.	152
XVI. THE WAR BETWEEN GREECE AND PERSIA.	162
XVII. THE DELIAN CONFEDERACY AND THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE	175
XVIII. THE AGE OF PERICLES.	180
XIX. THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR TO THE SICILIAN EXPEDI- TION.	211
XX. FROM THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION TO THE END OF THE WAR.	218
XXI. SICILY: THE TYRANT AND THE LIBERATOR.	241

CHAPTER	PAGE
XXII. THE SUPREMACY OF SPARTA.	247
XXIII. THEBES ATTEMPTS TO GAIN THE SUPREMACY.	258
XXIV. THE RISE OF MACEDON.	266
XXV. ALEXANDER'S EMPIRE.	276
XXVI. GREEK LIFE AND THOUGHT.	283
XXVII. THE HELLENISTIC AGE.	297

BOOK III

ROME

XXVIII. A. INTRODUCTION TO THE SOURCES.	313
B. ITALY AND HER PEOPLE.	326
XXIX. ROME UNDER THE KINGS.	334
XXX. THE EARLY REPUBLIC: (I) THE PLEBEIANS WIN THEIR RIGHTS.	348
XXXI. THE EARLY REPUBLIC: (II) ROME BECOMES SU- PREME IN ITALY.	361
XXXII. ROMAN ORGANIZATION: PROGRESS IN CULTURE. . .	371
XXXIII. THE FIRST AND SECOND PUNIC WARS.	379
XXXIV. THE END OF GREEK FREEDOM.	389
XXXV. GROWTH OF PLUTOCRACY; PROGRESS IN CIVILIZATION	397
XXXVI. THE REVOLUTION: (I) FROM PLUTOCRACY TO MILI- TARY RULE.	417
XXXVII. THE REVOLUTION: (II) THE MILITARY POWER IN CONFLICT WITH THE REPUBLIC.	433
XXXVIII. THE FOUNDING OF THE PRINCIPATE; AUGUSTUS AND TIBERIUS.	464
XXXIX. FROM PRINCIPATE TO MONARCHY: THE CLAUDIAN AND FLAVIAN PRINCES	480
XL. THE PERIOD OF THE FIVE GOOD EMPERORS.	502
XLI. EARLY HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY.	521
XLII. THE ABSOLUTE MONARCHY.	527
XLIII. SOME ASPECTS OF THE DECLINE.	537
XLIV. THE NORTHERN BARBARIANS.	544
XLV. ROMAN LIFE UNDER THE LATE EMPIRE.	558
XLVI. THE MOHAMMEDANS AND THE FRANKISH POWER. .	574
INDEX.	585

A Source-Book of Ancient History

BOOK I

The Oriental Nations

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE SOURCES

AT the opening of the last century almost our only sources of information for ancient Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria were the works of the Greeks. For the earlier history of the first two countries here named these writers had to depend largely on folk tales, which though not real history throw a clearer light on the customs and thought of the Orientals than could any narrative of events however detailed. Even at the present day, notwithstanding the vast accumulation of other sources, we are attracted to Herodotus, "the Father of History," who visited Egypt and Babylon about the middle of the fifth century B.C. In simple, charming style, he wrote down what he himself saw and what the priests and others told him of native history, religion, social customs, and achievements in engineering and architecture. Although we can place little dependence upon his account of earlier times, his own age he portrays with great fidelity. For geography, products, and to some extent customs we may still use Strabo, the famous Greek geographer who wrote in the first century of the Christian era. Scattered through Greek and Roman literature are many incidental but

**Greek
sources.**

See chapter
vi.

valuable references to the Orient, with here and there more extended summaries of history and chronology.

Native
sources for
Egypt, Bab-
ylonia, and
Assyria.

Our knowledge of that part of the world, however, has been vastly increased since the beginning of the nineteenth century by the decipherment of ancient scripts, first the Egyptian and afterward the Babylonian. The great value of these native sources lies in the facts (1) that they are nearly always contemporary with the persons, events, or conditions to which they refer, (2) that they are composed by natives and present therefore the native attitude of mind and mode of thought, (3) that their abundance and variety enable us to examine with great minuteness and accuracy all the activities of these nations in war, commerce and industry, the useful and fine arts, religion, morals, and science—in brief every field of thought and endeavor of the poor and lowly as well as of kings and officials. We are therefore especially well provided with the means of studying the Egyptians, Babylonians and Assyrians.

Sources for
Syria.

P. 47.

Of the peoples of Syria we have almost no early written records in addition to the letters found at Tel-el-Amarna, Egypt, described below. These letters, written in the fifteenth century by various governors of the Syrian cities to the Egyptian king, throw an interesting light especially on Palestine before its conquest by the Hebrews. Almost nothing has reached us from the Phœnicians, whereas the Hebrews created a rich literature in the books of the Old Testament.

Sources for
Persia.

The Persians were a race of warriors, and the inscriptions of their kings are, like those of Assyria, mainly a record of conquest and building. There remains, however, a considerable part of their sacred books comprised in the Avesta. The beginnings of these writings belong to Media. From that country they were adopted by the Persians,

who gradually added to them as their religion expanded. This entire body of writings, however, purported to be a revelation of God to his prophet Zoroaster (native name Zarathrustra). Although some modern scholars look upon this figure as a myth, it seems more probable that he was a historical person who lived in the latter half of the seventh century B.C. The religion he taught is called Zoroastrianism after himself, or Mazdeism, after his supreme God, Ahura Mazda. It is an interesting fact that of all the pagan worships which flourished in Egypt and southwestern Asia Mazdeism alone has survived to the present day. It is held by a sect called the Parsis, who, when the Mohammedans conquered Persia, 642 A.D. fled to India, where they are still settled. *Ancient World, 54.*

BOOKS FROM WHICH SELECTIONS HAVE BEEN MADE

The Holy Bible. New York: Hurst and Co.

Birch, S., editor, *Records of the Past: Being English Translations of the Assyrian and Egyptian Monuments*, i-xii (1875-1881). London: Samuel Bagster and Sons.

Sayce, A. H., editor, *Records of the Past: Being English Translations of the Ancient Monuments of Egypt and Western Asia.* New Series, i-vi (1888-1892). Bagster and Sons. This series is indicated thus, i,² ii,² iii,³ etc.

Baum, H. M., and Wright, F. B., editors, *Records of the Past.* Washington, D. C.: Exploration Society (a volume annually, beginning 1902). Referred to as (American) *Records of the Past.* It is devoted mainly to brief studies, but contains an occasional translation.

Breasted, J. H., editor and translator, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, 5 vols. Chicago: University Press (1906).

King, L. W., *Studies in Eastern History*, 3 vols. London: Luzac and Co. (1904-1907).

King, L. W., *The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, vol. iii. Luzac and Co. (1900).

Harper, R. F., *The Code of Hammurabi King of Babylon*. Chicago: University Press (1904). Translation and commentary.

Darmesteter, J., *The Zend-Avesta*, 2 pts. in F. Max Müller's Sacred Books of the East, vols. iv, xxiii. Oxford: Clarendon Press (1880, 1883).

Herodotus, see p. 75.

Strabo, see p. 76.

CHAPTER II

EGYPT

I. THE NILE

THE Nile, when it leaves the boundaries of Ethiopia, flows in a straight line toward the North, to the tract called the Delta, then, cloven at the head, as Plato says, it makes this point the apex of a triangle, the sides of which are formed by streams. . . . An island is thus formed by the sea and the two streams of the river, called the Delta from its resemblance to the letter of that name Δ . The Delta.
Strabo xvii.
1. 4.

At the time of the rising of the Nile the whole valley is covered and resembles the sea, except the inhabited parts, which are on natural hills or mounds; the larger cities and the villages appear like islands on the distant prospect.

After having continued on the ground more than forty days in Summer, the water subsides by degrees in the same manner as it arose. In sixty days the plain is entirely exposed to view and dries up. The sooner the land is dry, so much the sooner the plowing and sowing are accomplished, and it dries earlier in those parts where the heat is greater. The country above the Delta is irrigated in the same manner, except that the river flows in a straight channel to the distance of about four thousand stadia unless where some island intervenes.

In later times persons learned by experience as eye-witnesses that the Nile owes its rise to summer rains, which

fall in great abundance in Upper Ethiopia, especially in the most distant mountains. When the rains cease, the fulness of the river gradually subsides. This was particularly observed by those who navigated the Arabian Gulf on their way to the Cinnamon country and by those who were sent to hunt elephants, or for such other purposes as induced the Ptolemies to send persons in that direction.

II. FERTILITY

**Farm labor
is easy.**

Herodotus
ii. 14.

They (the Egyptians) gather the fruit of the earth with far less labor than any other people. . . . For they do not toil in breaking furrows with the plow nor in hoeing it, nor in doing any other work in which men are employed in raising a crop; but when the river of its own accord comes up over the field and waters it and then withdraws to its bed, each farmer sows his field with seed and turns the swine into it; and when the swine have trodden the seed down, he awaits the harvest. Then he threshes by means of the swine and gathers in his crop.

III. THE PYRAMIDS

**The greatest
pyramid.**

Herodotus
ii. 124.

After Cheops had ascended the throne, he brought the country into every manner of evil. First closing all the temples, he forbade sacrificing there, then ordered all the Egyptians to work for him. Some he bade draw stones from the quarries in the Arabian mountains about the Nile; others were ordered to receive them after they had been carried over the river in boats, and to draw them to the Libyan mountains. And they worked in groups of 100,000 men, each group for three months continually. Ten years of oppression for the people were required for making the causeway by which they dragged the stones.

The remains
of two cause-
ways are
extant.

This causeway which they built was not a much inferior work to the pyramid itself, as it seems to me; for the length is five stades and the breadth ten fathoms; its highest point is eight fathoms; it is made of polished stones and engraved with the figures of living beings. Ten years were required for this, and for the works on the mound, where the pyramids stand, and for the underground chambers in the island, which he intended as sepulchral vaults for his own use, and lastly for the canal which he dug from the Nile. The pyramid was building 20 years; it is square; each side measures 800 feet and its height is the same; the stones are polished and fitted together with the utmost exactness. Not one of them is less than 30 feet in length.

A stade
(stadium)
was 600 feet.

No trace of
the canal can
now be found.

The pyramid was built in steps, battlement-wise, or as some say, altar-wise. After laying the base, they lifted the remaining stones to their places by means of machines, made of short pieces of wood. The first machine raised them from the ground to the top of the first step; and when the stone had been lifted thus far, it was drawn to the top of the second step by another machine; for they had as many machines as steps, or they lifted the same machine, which was made so as to be easily carried, from one step to the other for the purpose of elevating the stones; for I give both methods as they were told me. At any rate, the highest parts were finished first, then the next, and so on till they came to the parts resting on the ground, namely the base. It is set down in Egyptian writing on the pyramid how much was spent on radishes and leeks and onions for the workmen; and I remember well the interpreter read the sum of 1600 talents of silver. Now if these figures are correct, how much more must have been spent on the iron which with they worked, and on the food and clothing of the workmen, considering the length of

Lifting ma-
chines.

Ib. 125.

time which the work lasted, and an additional period, as I understand, during which they cut and brought the stones, and made the excavations.

IV. TREATY BETWEEN RAMESES II AND THE HITTITES

A treaty of peace was signed between Rameses II and the Hittite King, 1272, the earliest treaty now extant. The following is the more important part of it. Breasted, *Records of Ancient Egypt*, iii. pp. 165-174.

The contracting parties.

Ancient World, 12.

Renewal of old relations.

The treaty which the great chief of the Hittites, Khetasar, the valiant, the son of Merasar, the great chief of the Hittites, the valiant, the grandson of Seplel, the great chief of the Hittites, the valiant, made upon a silver tablet for Rameses II, the great ruler of Egypt, the valiant; . . . the good treaty of peace and of brotherhood, setting peace between them forever. . . .

Behold, then, Khetasar, the great chief of the Hittites, is in a treaty relation with Rameses II, the great ruler of Egypt, beginning with this day, in order to bring about good peace and good brotherhood between us forever, while he is in brotherhood with me; and I am in brotherhood with him, and I am in peace with him forever. Since Metella, the great chief of the Hittites, my brother, succumbed to his fate, and Khetasar sat as great chief of the Hittites upon the throne of his father, behold, I am together with Rameses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, and he is with me in our peace and our brotherhood. It is better than the former peace and brotherhood which were in the land. Behold, I, even the great chief of the Hittites, am with Rameses, the great ruler of Egypt, in good peace and in good brotherhood. The children of the children of the great chief of the Hittites shall be in brotherhood and peace with the children of the

children of Rameses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, being in our relations of brotherhood and our relations of peace, that the land of Egypt may be with the land of the Hittites in peace and brotherhood, like ourselves, forever.

There shall be no hostilities between them forever. The great chief of the Hittites shall not pass over into the land of Egypt, forever, to take anything therefrom. Rameses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, shall not pass over into the land of the Hittites to take anything therefrom, forever. . . .

Neither party shall attack the other.

If another enemy come against the lands of Rameses, the great ruler of Egypt, and he shall send to the great chief of the Hittites, saying, "Come with me as reinforcement against him," the great chief of the Hittites shall come, and the great chief of the Hittites shall slay his enemy. But if it shall not be the desire of the great chief of the Hittites to come, he shall send his infantry and his chariotry, and shall slay his enemy.

Defensive alliance.

Or if Rameses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, be provoked against delinquent subjects, when they have committed some other fault against him, and he come to slay them, then the great chief of the Hittites shall act with the lord of Egypt.

If another enemy come against the great chief of the Hittites and he shall send to the great chief of Egypt, Rameses for reinforcements, then he shall come to him as reinforcement, to slay his enemy. But if it be not the desire of Rameses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt to come, he shall send his infantry and his chariotry and shall slay his enemy. . . .

If any great man of the land of Egypt shall flee and shall come to the great chief of the Hittites, from either a

Extradition clause.

The document contains a similar clause in favor of the Hittites.

The gods are witnesses.

town or. . . of the lands of Rameses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, and they shall come to the great chief of the Hittites, then the great chief of the Hittites shall not receive them, but the great chief of the Hittites shall cause them to be brought to Rameses, the great ruler of Egypt, their lord therefor. . . .

As for the words of this contract of the great chief of the Hittites with Rameses-Meriamon, the great ruler of Egypt, written upon this silver tablet; as for these words, a thousand gods of the male gods and of the female gods, of those of the land of the Hittites, together with a thousand gods, of the male and of the female gods of those of the land of Egypt, they are with me as witnesses to these words.

V. RAMESES II, SON AND SECOND SELF OF THE GOD PTAH-TOTUNEN

This extract from a much longer inscription found at Abu-Simbel, Egypt, gives, perhaps better than any other passage, an idea of the divine perfection, majesty, and almighty power of the Egyptian king as the son and incarnation of the chief deity. Interesting is the incidental reference to the successful close of the war with the Hittites and to the king's marriage with the Hittite princess. *Records of the Past*, xii. 85-89.

Ptah addresses Rameses II.

Ptah (artist-god), chief deity of Memphis; Num (Khnum) creator and protector; Hathor, goddess of love and pleasure, often in form of a cow.

Thus speaks Ptah-Totunen with the high plumes, armed with horns, the father of the gods, to his son who loves him. . . .

Num and Ptah have nourished thy childhood, they leap with joy when they see thee made after my likeness, noble, great, exalted. The great princesses of the house of Ptah and the Hathors of the temple of Tem are in festival, their hearts are full of gladness, their hands take the drum with joy, when they see thy person beautiful and lovely

like my Majesty. . . . King Rameses, I grant thee to cut the mountains into statues immense, gigantic, everlasting; I grant that foreign lands find for thee precious stone to inscribe the monuments with thy name.

I give thee to succeed in all the works which thou hast done. I give thee all kinds of workmen, all that goes on two or four feet, all that flies and all that has wings. I have put in the heart of all nations to offer thee what they have done; themselves, princes great and small, with one heart seek to please thee, King Rameses. Thou hast built a great residence to fortify the boundary of the land; the city of Rameses; it is established on the earth like the four pillars of the sky; hast constructed within a royal palace, where festivals are celebrated to thee as is done for me within. I have set the crown on thy head with my own hands, when thou appearest in the great hall of the double throne; and men and gods have praised thy name like mine when my festival is celebrated.

Success in
all under-
takings.

Thou hast carved my statues and built my shrines as I have done in times of old. I have given thee years by periods of thirty; thou reignest in my place on my throne; I fill thy limbs with life and happiness, I am behind thee to protect thee; I give thee health and strength; I cause Egypt to be submitted to thee, and I supply the two countries with pure life. King Rameses, I grant that the strength, the vigor, and the might of thy sword be felt among all countries; thou castest down the hearts of all nations; I have put them under thy feet; thou comest forth every day in order that be brought to thee the foreign prisoners; the chiefs and the great of all nations offer thee their children. I give them to thy gallant sword that thou mayest do with them what thou likest. King Rameses, I grant that the fear of thee be in the minds of all and thy

Rameses
the incarna-
tion of Ptah.

command in their hearts. I grant that thy valor reach all countries, and that the dread of thee be spread over all lands; the princes tremble at thy remembrance, and thy majesty is fixed on their heads; they come to thee as supplicants to implore thy mercy. Thou givest life to whom thou wishest, and thou puttest to death whom thou pleasest; the throne of all nations is in thy possession. . . .

Power of the
king's name.

King Rameses, I have exalted thee through such marvelous endowments that heaven and earth leap for joy and those who are within praise thy existence; the mountains, the water, and the stone walls which are on the earth are shaken when they hear thy excellent name, since they have seen what I have accomplished for thee; which is that the land of the Hittites should be subjected to thy palace; I have put in the heart of the inhabitants to anticipate thee themselves by their obeisance in bringing thee their presents. Their chiefs are prisoners, all their property is the tribute in the dependency of the living king. Their royal daughter is at the head of them; she comes to soften the heart of King Rameses; her merits are marvelous, but she does not know the goodness which is in thy heart.

He marries
the Hittite
princess.

VI. HYMN TO AMON (AMMON)

Records of the Past, vi. 99 f.

When Thebes became the residence of pharaoh, Amon (Amon, or Amen), chief god of the city, became the supreme deity of Egypt, and a stupendous temple was built to him; *Ancient World*, 16.

I cry, the beginning of wisdom is the way of Amon, the rudder of truth.

Thou art he that giveth bread to him who has none,
That sustaineth the servant of his house.

Let no prince be my defender in all my troubles.

Let not my memorial be placed under the power

Of any man who is in the house . . . My Lord is my defender;

I know his power, to wit, he is a strong defender;

There is none mighty except him alone.

Strong is Amon, knowing how to answer,
Fulfilling the desire of him who cries to him;
The Sun the true King of Gods,
The Strong Bull, the mighty lover of power.

VII. HYMN TO THE NILE

By the scribe Ennana. It represents the idea that "the Nile is the source of all life in Egypt, that it is the supreme god, mysterious, uncreated, the father of the gods and all things else, into whose secrets none can penetrate. He describes in a lofty style the benefits conferred by the Nile when it spreads its waters over the country at its annual return." *Records of the Past*, iii.² 48-54.

Adoration to the Nile!
Hail to thee, O Nile!
Who manifestest thyself over this land,
And comest to give life to Egypt!
Mysterious is thy issuing forth from the darkness,
On this day whereon it is celebrated!
Watering the orchards created by Re
To cause all the cattle to live,
Thou givest the earth to drink, inexhaustible one!
Path that descendest from the sky,
Loving the bread of Seb and the first fruits of Nepera,
Thou causest the workshops of Ptah to prosper! . . .

He brings the offerings, as chief of provisioning;
He is creator of all good things,
As master of energy, full of sweetness in his choice.
If offerings are made it is thanks to him.
He brings forth the herbage for the flocks,
And sees that each god receives his sacrifices.
All that depends on him is a precious incense.
He spreads himself over Egypt,
Filling the granaries, renewing the marts,
Watching over the goods of the unhappy.

He is prosperous to the height of all desires,
Without fatiguing himself therefor.
He brings again his lordly bark;

**Giver of
Life.**

Its sources
were un-
known.

Re, the sun-
god.

Seb, god of
earth; Ptah,
chief god of
Memphis.

**Creator of
all good.**

**Incessantly
active.**

Uræus,
snake-symbol
of divinity or
royalty, worn
on headdress.

He is not sculptured in stone, in the statues crowned with the uræus
serpent,
He cannot be contemplated.
No servitors has he, no bearers of offerings!
He is not enticed by incantations!
None knows the place where he dwells,
None discovers his retreat by the power of a written spell . . .

Nourisher of
mankind.

Establisher of justice! mankind desires thee,
Supplicating thee to answer their prayers; thou answerest them by
the inundation!
Men offer the first fruits of corn;
All the gods adore thee!
The birds descend not on the soil.
It is believed that with thy hand of gold
Thou makest bricks of silver!
But we are not nourished on lapis lazuli;
Corn alone gives vigor. . . .

Offerings to
thee.

O inundation of the Nile,
Offerings are made to thee,
Oxen are immolated to thee,
Great festivals are instituted for thee.
Birds are sacrificed to thee,
Gazelles are taken for thee in the mountain.
Pure flames are prepared for thee.
Sacrifice is made to every god as it is made to the Nile.
The Nile has made its retreats in Southern Egypt,
Its name is not known beyond the Tuau.
The god manifests not his forms,
He baffles all conception.

Tuau, the
other world.

Prosper, O
giver of
prosperity!

His son is
pharaoh.

Men exalt him like the cycle of the gods,
They dread him who creates the heat,
Even him who has made his son the universal master
In order to give prosperity to Egypt.
Come and prosper! come and prosper!
O Nile, come and prosper!
O thou who makest men to live through his flocks,
And his flocks through his orchards!

Come and prosper, come,
O Nile, come and prosper!

This work has been successfully finished and dedicated to the scribe of the treasury Qaqabu (by the scribe Ennana).

VIII. SPOILIATION OF TOMBS

This extract is a single clause in an extensive report made by a commission for examining into the condition of cemeteries appointed by Rameses IX (about 1100). From this and other sources we learn that tomb robbery was an oft-committed crime. *Records of the Past*, xii. 107.

Sepulchres and chapels in which repose the chanters and mourners, the women and men of the country, in the west-quarter of the city. It was found that the thieves had violated them all, that they had torn their occupants away from their coffins and cases, had thrown them into the dust and had stolen all the funeral objects which had been given to them, as well as the gold and silver and the ornaments which were in their coffins.

IX. EGYPTIAN PRECEPTS

The following precepts are taken from the "oldest book in the world," written on papyrus. It was discovered in the necropolis of Thebes and first published in 1847. It is now in the National Library in Paris.

The first part, in which we find some precepts concerning manners and morals, was composed in the reign of Senoferu (third dynasty). The last part was composed by the prefect Ptah-hotep in the reign of Assa (fifth dynasty). (American) *Records of the Past*, i. 311-320.

The third and fifth dynasties lie within 2900-2540.

If thou sittest down to eat with a number, despise the dishes which thou lovest; it is but a short time to restrain thyself; and voracity is something degrading, for there is bestiality in it. As a glass of water quenches thirst, as a

On eating in company.

Moral
proverbs and
precepts;
*Ancient
World*, 19.

mouthful of vegetables strengthens the heart, as one good takes the place of another good, as a very little takes the place of much, he who is drawn away by his stomach when he is not on the watch is a worthless man. With such people the stomach is master. However, if thou sittest down to eat with a glutton, to keep up with him in eating will lead afar; and if thou drinkest with a great drinker, accept to please him. Do not reject the meats, even from a man repugnant to thee; take what he gives thee, and do not leave it; truly that is disagreeable.

Conduct to-
ward chil-
dren.

Do not harden the hearts of thy children. Instruct those who will be in thy place; but when he does not permit, none knows the events which God brings to pass. Let the chief talk to his children, after he has accomplished the human condition; they will gain honor for themselves by increasing in well doing, starting from that which he has told them.

He says to his son: Be not proud because of thy knowledge; converse with the ignorant as with the scholar; for the barriers of art are never closed, no artist ever possessing that perfection to which he should aspire. But wisdom is more difficult to find than the emerald; which is found by slaves among the rocks of pegmatite.

Treatment
of the quar-
relsome.

If thou hast to do with a disputer while he is in his heat, and if he is superior to thee in ability, lower the hands, bend the back, do not get into a passion with him. As he will not permit thee to spoil his speech, it is very wrong to interrupt him; that shows thou art not able to keep quiet when thou art contradicted. If then thou hast to do with a disputer while he is in his heat, act as one not to be moved. Thou hast the advantage over him, if only in keeping silent when his speech is bad. "Better is he who

refrains," says the audience; and thou art right in the opinion of the great. . . .

If thou art in the position of leader, to decide the condition of a large number of men, seek the best way, that thine own position may be without reproach. Justice is great, unchangeable and assured; it has not been disturbed since the time of Osiris. To put an obstacle in the way of the laws, is to open the way before violence. Will the low be exalted if the unjust does not succeed to the place of justice, he who says: "I take for myself, according to my will," but does not say, "I take by my authority." The limits of justice are unchangeable; this is a precept which each man receives from his father.

Treatment of those under your authority.

Osiris, once a ruler on earth, now the god who judges the dead.

Do not intimidate men; or God will likewise contend with thee. . . .

If thou art among persons who are sitting down to eat at the house of one greater than thyself, take what he gives thee, bowing low. Look at what is before thee, bowing profoundly. Look at what is before thee; but do not stare at it: do not look at it frequently; he is blameworthy who breaks this rule. Do not speak to him (the great man) more than he asks, for one does not know what might displease him. Speak when he invites thee to do so, and thy word will please. . . .

Conduct toward superiors.

If thou art one of those who carry messages from one great man to another, keep exactly to that he has enjoined upon thee. Beware of altering in speaking the repulsive things which one great man addresses to another. He who distorts the fidelity of his message by repeating only what is pleasing in the words of any man, great or small, is a detestable being. . . .

Conduct as a messenger.

Be active during the time of thy existence, in doing more than is commanded. Do no wrong in the time of

Beware of laziness.

activity; he is blameworthy who wastes his hour. Do not lose the daily opportunity for the increase of that which thy house possesses. Activity produces riches, and riches do not last when it (activity) slackens. . . .

Have courage to give sound advice.

Declare thy line of conduct without reserve; give thine advice in the council of thy lord; there are people who take all sides when they speak, so that, by not replying, they may not grieve the one who has made a statement. . . .

Govern your temper.

If thou desirest that thy conduct be good and kept from all evil, beware of all fits of bad temper. This is a sad malady which leads to discord, and there is no more life at all for the one who falls into it. For it brings quarrels between fathers and mothers, as between brothers and sisters; it makes the wife and the husband abhor each other, it contains all wickedness, it encloses all injuries. When a man takes justice for his rule, walks in her ways, and dwells with her, there is no room left for bad temper. . . .

Conduct toward a wife.

If thou art wise, take care of thy house; love thy wife purely. Fill her stomach; clothe her back; these are the cares to give to her body. Caress her, fulfill her desire during the time of thine existence; it is a kindness which honors its master. Be not brutal; consideration will lead her better than force; . . . this is her breath, her aim, her gaze. This establishes her in thy house; if thou repellst her, it is an abyss. Open thine arms to her for her arms; call her, show her thy love. . . .

Conduct of one in command.

If thou art powerful, pay respect to knowledge and calm speech. Command only to direct; to be absolute is to enter into evil. Let not thy heart exalt itself, let it not be cast down. Make thine orders heard, and make thy replies understood; but speak without heat; let thy face be stern. As for the vivacity of a warm heart, temper it; the gentle man overcomes obstacles. The man who hurries

all day long has not one good moment; but he who amuses himself all day long does not retain his house. Aim at the right point as do the pilots; while one sits down, another works, and applies himself to obeying the command.

Do not disturb a great man; do not distract the attention of the busy man. His care is to accomplish his task, and he strips his body for love of the work. Love for the work they do brings men near to God. Therefore compose thy face, even in the midst of trouble, so that peace may be with thee. . . . These are the people who succeed where they apply themselves. . . .

Attitude toward the great or busy man.

If thou art great after having been low, if thou art rich after having been straitened, when thou art at the head of the city, learn not to take advantage of thy having risen to the first rank; do not harden thy heart on account of thine elevation; thou hast only become the steward of the goods belonging to God. Do not put behind thee the neighbor who is thine equal; be to him as a companion. . . .

The duty of one who has risen to power.

Let thy face be bright during all the time of thy life. When one of those who entered carrying his products comes out of the place of toll with a drawn face, that shows that his stomach is empty, and that the authorities are an abhorrence to him. May that never happen to thee. . . .

The duty of cheerfulness.

Distinguish the overseer, who directs, from the laborer; for manual labor is degrading, and inaction is honorable. . . .

When a son receives the word of his father, there is no error in all his plans. So instruct thy son that he shall be a teachable man whose wisdom shall be pleasant to the great. Let him direct his mouth according to that which has been told him; in the teachableness of a son is seen his wisdom. His conduct is perfect, while error carries away him who will not be taught; to-morrow knowl-

A son should be teachable.

edge shall uphold him, while the ignorant shall be crushed.

The un-
teachable
man.

As for the man without experience, who hearkens not, he does nothing at all. He seeks knowledge in ignorance, profit in injury; he commits all sorts of errors, seizing always whatever is the opposite of praiseworthy. Thus he lives only on the perishable. His food is the evil word that charms him. He lives every day on what the great know to be perishable; fleeing what is best for him, because of the many errors which are before him each day. . . .

Obey a fa-
ther or mas-
ter.

Do that which thy master tells thee. Doubly good is the precept of our father, from whose flesh we come forth. May what he tells us be in our hearts; do for him more than he has said and satisfy him wholly. Surely a good son is one of the gifts of God, a son doing better than he has been told. For his master he does what is right, throwing his whole heart into the ways.

Value of
these pre-
cepts.

By following these lessons I secure that thy body shall be in health, that the king shall be satisfied with thee in all things, and that thou shalt gain years of life without failures.

They have gained for me upon earth one hundred and ten years of life, with the gift of the favor of the king, among the first of those whose works have made them noble, doing the pleasure of the king in an honored place.

X. EPITAPH OF BEKA

This inscription is on a pillar in the Museum of Turin. Beka, the deceased, was the great steward of the Public Granary. Its value lies chiefly in the enumeration of virtues attributed to the deceased, representing him as a perfect model of conduct in private and official life. *Records of the Past*, x. 7-10.

A royal gift of offerings to the person of the Steward of the public granary, Beka, the justified. He says, I

myself was just and true, without malice, having put God in my heart, and having been quick to discern his will. I reach the city of those who are in eternity. I have done good upon earth; I have harbored no prejudice; I have not been wicked; I have not approved of any offense or iniquity. I have taken pleasure in speaking the truth; I have perceived the advantage it is to conform to this practice upon the earth from the first action of my life even to the tomb. My sure defence shall be to speak it (truth) in the day when I reach the divine judges, the skilful interpreters, discoverers of all actions, the chastisers of sins. Pure is my soul. While living, I bear no malice. There are no errors attributable to me, no sins of mine are before their hand. I am come out of this trial with the help of truth, and behold I am in the place of the ancients. Bring ye the food of truth to the Steward of the public granary, Beka, the justified.

His justification before the judges of the Dead.

He says, It was I who filled the heart of the Lord of the Two Regions, who was the beloved of the King of Upper Egypt, the favorite of the King of Lower Egypt, on account of my preëminent merits, which were the cause of my promotion. Great was I in the place of millions of true perfections. Wherever the King proceeded, I always approached his person, and went joyfully around him adoring his goodness each day, and did homage to the double asp on his diadem throughout all time. . . . I have not made myself master over the lowly; I have done no harm to men who honored their gods. I have spent my lifetime in the life of truth, until I have attained the age of veneration, being in favor with the King, and beloved by the great ones about him. The royal dwelling, those who dwelt there, no ill will towards me was in their heart. The men of the future, while they live, will be

His relations with pharaoh and the court.

Double asp, emblem of the king's immortality.

charmed by my remarkable merits. He who inhabits the place of the fulness of health had given me an important post.

Conduct towards his parents and his fellows.

My sincerity and my goodness were in the heart of my father and mother; my affection was in them. Never have I outraged it in my mode of action towards them from the beginning of the time of my youth. Though great, yet have I acted as if I had been a little one. I have not disabled anyone worthier than myself. . . .

XI. PRODUCTS OF ARABIA

A group of inscriptions on the inner walls of an Egyptian temple gives an account of the conquest of Arabia Felix by the Regent Queen Mother of Thothmes III. It includes a description of the spoils brought home by the expedition. Naturally these same products were imported from Arabia in time of peace. *Records of the Past*, x. 14.

Imports into Egypt; *Ancient World*, 15.

The loading of the ships of transport with a great quantity of the magnificent products of Arabia, with all kinds of precious woods of the Holy Land, with heaps of incense resin, with verdant incense trees, with ebony, with pure ivory, with gold and silver from the land of Amu, with the tesep-wood, and the cassia-bark, aham-incense and mes-temkohl, and hounds, with skins of leopards of the South, apes and monkeys, with women and children. Never has a convoy been made like this one by any king since the creation of the world.



XII. THE LABORING CLASSES

From a papyrus in the British Museum, copied in the nineteenth dynasty from an original of the twelfth dynasty or earlier. The document gives an account of the various occupations, and with quaint humor pictures their hardships as contrasted with the easy life of the scribe. *Records of the Past*, viii. 147-156.

I have not seen a blacksmith on a commission, a founder who goes on an embassy. I have seen the blacksmith at his work at the mouth of his furnace, his fingers like the skin of a crocodile; he smells worse than the roe of a fish. Every carpenter carrying tools—is he more at rest than the common laborers? His fields are of wood, his tools of metal; at night when he is free, he works his hands further in making at night the lighting of his house. The stone-cutter, he searches for employment in all kinds of hard stones. When he has completed his task, his arms are fatigued; when he is at rest, his knees and his back are broken. The barber is shaving till evening; when he places himself to eat, he reclines on his elbows. He betakes himself from street to street to seek after his shaving; he wearies his hands to feed his stomach, as bees feed by their labors. The boatman, he navigates to At'hu that he may have his price. He has done beyond the power of his hands in doing, to kill geese and flamingoes; he has suffered his suffering; he approaches his orchard; he approaches his house at night, for he must go again to his labors on the morrow.

The hard lot
of mechan-
ics.

*Ancient
World, 14 f.*

Cutting
wood.

The little laborer with a field, he passes his life among rustics. He is worn down for vines and pigs, to furnish his kitchen with what his fields have. His clothes are heavy with weight; he is tied as a forced laborer; he goes into the air and he suffers though coming forth well from his fireplace. He is bastinadoed with a stick on his legs, but escapes with his life. Shut against him is the wall of every house—drawn are the chambers. I tell you also of the builder of precincts. Disease tastes him, for he is in draughts of air. . . . To go on to his end, his hands are worn with labor. Disordered are his clothes. He eats himself, the bread his fingers; he washes himself at one

The field-
laborer,
builder,
gardener,
and farmer.

time only. He lowers himself to examine all directions. His passage is from place to place, which is from ten to six cubits; his passage is from month to month upon the beams of the lotuses of the houses, while he does all its work. Should there be bread for him, he gives it his house. Exhausted are his children. The gardener brings me wreaths (?); all his yokes are heavy; his hands are chiefly on his neck. When he has done the fertilizing, he passes the morning watering vegetables, the evening vines. He has worked day by day; his stomach is wretched. Ignorant of his mother is his name—more tranquil than any employment. The farmer, his garments are for eternity. He elevates his voice like a bird. His fingers aid me, for his arms are dry in the wind. He reposes at the middle of the marshes, for he is a forced laborer. He is in good health with the beasts. Illnesses taste him; he resides among them. He arrives at his garden; he comes to his house in the evening; he must go out next morning.

The weaver,
armorer,
courier, and
other work-
men.

The weaver inside the houses is more wretched than a woman; his knees are at the place of his heart; he has not tasted the air. Should he have done little in a day of his weaving, he is dragged as a lily in a pool. He gives bread to the porter that he may be allowed to behold the light. The maker of weapons suffers extremely, going forth to foreign countries. He gives a great deal for his asses, more than the labors of his hands; he gives a great deal for their pasturing in a field. He gives on the road; he arrives at his garden; he reaches his house at night; he must be off in the morning. The courier, going to foreign countries, bequeaths his goods to his children, because of the fears of beasts and Asiatics. What happens to him when he is at Kam; he arrives at his garden; he goes to his house in the evening; he must be off on the morrow. His

heavy bond comes forth; no joys come. The dyer, his fingers smell—the smell of bad fish. His two eyes are weary with very fatigue; his hand does not stop; he watches at the rent of the old garment—abominable are the clothes. The sandal-maker is very miserable, he is always begging; his health is as the health of a bad fish; he gnaws the leather. The washerman, washing on the quay, traverses the ground approaching the crocodiles. The father of the water brings out the dirt: his hand does not stop. A quiet employment is not before you, no easier than other employment. His draughts are mixed up with his clothes: not a limb of him is clean. There is given to him the bonds of women, for he is in misfortunes. I lament to thee that he passes his time with a bat. . . . The fowler of birds suffers very much. The confines of Num are before thee, when he says, "Let the net refuse." The god will not show his forms; vain are his plans. I tell you the fisherman suffers more than any employment. Consider: is he not toiling on the river? he is mixed up with the crocodiles. Should the clumps of papyrus diminish, then he is crying out for help. If he has not been told a crocodile is there, terrors blind him.

STUDIES

1. Who was Strabo, and what did he write?. Who was Plato (ch. vi)? How did they get their information as to Egypt? Describe the overflow of the Nile and explain its cause.
2. Who was Herodotus (ch. vi)? What made the Nile so fertile?
3. Describe the building of the greatest pyramid. How was Cheops able to build so grandly? What did the people probably think of such undertakings?
4. Write in the simplest form the terms of treaty between Ramesses II and the Hittites. Who were the Hittites? What is meant by extradition?

5. Why did the King of Egypt think himself a god? What benefits did he derive from Ptah? On what did he especially pride himself?
6. Who was Amon? What qualities and powers are ascribed to him in this poem?
7. Why did the Egyptians worship the Nile? In this Hymn what benefits do they say come from it?
8. What valuables did robbers find in tombs?
9. Write a list of the precepts in this extract from "the oldest book in the world." How do these ideas of right and propriety compare with ours?
10. Of what virtues does Beka boast in his epitaph? Is it likely that he lived up to this standard?
11. From this list of the spoils of Arabia what do we infer as to the Egyptian motive to conquest?
12. Make a list of the laboring classes found in this selection composed by a scribe. What was the scribe's attitude toward manual labor?

CHAPTER III

THE TIGRIS-EUPHRATES VALLEY

I. CHRONICLE OF THE REIGN OF SARGON

The tablet translated below is in the British Museum. Although this chronicle was composed in the second Babylonian period (after 606 B.C.), it is known to be a faithful epitome of a far earlier narrative. King, *Chronicles*, ii. 3-9.

SARGON, King of Agade, through the royal gift of Ishtar was exalted, and he possessed no foe nor rival. His glory over the world he poured out. The Sea in the East he crossed, and in the eleventh year the Country of the West in its full extent his hand subdued. He united them under one control; he set up his images in the West; their booty he brought over at his word. The sons of his palace for five *kasbu* around he settled, and over the hosts of the world he reigned supreme. Against Kasalla he marched, and he turned Kasalla into mounds and heaps of ruins; he destroyed the land and left not enough for a bird to rest thereon. Afterward in his old age all the lands revolted against him, and they beseiged him in Agade; and Sargon went forth to battle and defeated them; he accomplished their overthrow, and their widespreading host he destroyed. Afterward he attacked the land of Subartu in his might, and they submitted to his arms, and Sargon settled that revolt, and defeated them; he accomplished their overthrow, and their widespreading host he destroyed, and he brought their possessions into Agade. The soil from the trenches of Babylon he removed, and the boundaries

His reign,
about 2500
B.C.

*Ancient
World*, 24.

The Sea in
the East is the
Persian Gulf.
Kasbu, about
seven miles.

A Babylonian
city.

Probably he made the territory of Agade as large as that of Babylon.

of Agade he made like those of Babylon. But because of the evil which he had committed the great lord Marduk was angry, and he destroyed his people by famine. From the rising of the Sun unto the setting of the sun they opposed him and gave him no rest.

II. ACHIEVEMENTS OF HAMMURABI

An inscription in the Babylonian language, a dialect of the Semitic, in the Museum of Paris. All the inscriptions of Oriental kings lay stress on their great piety and on the favor of the gods through which they rule and win victories in war. This document attests further the paternal care of Hammurabi for his people. *Records of the Past*, i.² 7 f.

Hammurabi, king of Babylon, 1958-1916.

Ancient World, 25.

Marduk, chief god of Babylon. Bel (Baal) means "lord."

Sumer and Accad, countries of the Sumerians and the Accadians; *Ancient World*, 23.

Such assemblies of the people are unusual in the Orient.

The divine right of kings is extremely ancient.

Hammurabi, the exalted King, the King of Babylon, the King renowned throughout the world, conqueror of the enemies of Marduk, the King beloved by his heart am I.

The favor of god and Bel gave the people of Sumer and Accad unto my government. Their celestial weapons unto my hand they gave. The canal Hammurabi, the joy of men, a stream of abundant waters, for the people of Sumer and Accad I excavated. Its banks, all of them, I restored to newness; new supporting walls I heaped up; perennial waters for the people of Sumer and Accad I provided.

The people of Sumer and Accad, all of them, in general assemblies I summoned. A review and inspection of them I ordained every year. In joy and abundance I watched over them, and in peaceful habitations I 'caused them to dwell.

By the divine favor I am Hammurabi, the exalted King, the worshipper of the supreme deity.

With the prosperous power which Marduk gave me, I built a lofty citadel on a high mound of earth, whose

summits rose up like mountains, on the bank of Hammurabi river, the joy of men.

✓ III. LAWS OF HAMMURABI

If a man bring an accusation against a man and charge him with a (capital) crime, but cannot prove it, he, the accuser, shall be put to death.

Capital offences.

If a man in a case (pending judgment) bear false witness, or do not establish the testimony he has given, if that case be a case involving life, that man shall be put to death.

As an introduction to this extract, read *Ancient World*, §§ 34, 41.

If a man steal the property of a god or palace, that man shall be put to death; and he who receives from his hand the stolen (property) shall also be put to death.

This code makes a remarkably free use of the death penalty.

If a man aid a male or female slave of a freeman to escape from the city gate, he shall be put to death.

If a man practice brigandage and be captured, that man shall be put to death.

If the brigand be not captured, the man who has been robbed, shall in the presence of god make an itemized statement of his loss, and the city and the governor, in whose province and jurisdiction the robbery was committed, shall compensate him for whatever was lost.

State insurance against robbery.

If a son be too young and be not able to conduct the business of his father, they shall give one third of the field and of the garden to his mother, and his mother shall rear him.

Women in business.

A woman, merchant or other property holder may sell field, garden or house. The purchaser shall conduct the business of the field, garden or house which he has purchased.

If outlaws collect in the house of a wine-seller, and she

p

do not arrest these outlaws and bring them to the police, the wine-seller shall be put to death.

Family law.

If a man be in debt and sell his wife, son or daughter, or bind them over to service, for three years they shall work in the house of their purchaser or master; in the fourth year they shall be given their freedom.

If a man take a wife and do not arrange with her the proper contracts, that woman is not a (legal) wife.

If a woman hate her husband and say: "Thou shalt not have me," they shall inquire into her antecedents for her defects; and if she have been a careful mistress and be without reproach and her husband have been going about greatly belittling her, that woman has no blame. She shall receive her dowry and shall go to her father's house.

If she have not been a careful mistress, have gadded about and have belittled her husband, they shall throw that woman into the water.

If a son strike his father, they shall cut off his fingers.

"An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

If a man destroy the eye of another man, they shall destroy his eye.

If one break a man's bone, they shall break his bone.

If one destroy the eye of a man's slave or break a bone of a man's slave, he shall pay one half his price.

Compensation for work.

If a physician operate on a man for a severe wound (or make a severe wound on a man) with a bronze lancet and save the man's life; or if he open an abscess (in the eye) of a man with a bronze lancet and save that man's eye, he shall receive ten shekels (as a fee).

If with a bronze lancet a physician operate on a man for a severe wound and cause the man's death; or with a bronze lancet open an abscess (in the eye) of a man and destroy the man's eye, they shall cut off his fingers.

If a man hire a field laborer, he shall pay 8 gur of grain per year.

If a male slave say to his master: "Thou art not my master," his master shall prove him to be his slave and shall cut off his ear.

Slave and master.

IV. TIGLATH-PILESER I

This document is inscribed on four large octagonal cylinders of clay, originally buried under the foundations of the four corners of a temple in the ancient city of Assur, and now in the British Museum. *Records of the Past*, i. 92-121.

Ye great gods, guiders of heaven and earth, whose onset is opposition and combat, who have magnified the kingdom of Tiglath-Pileser, the prince, the chosen, of the desire of your hearts, the exalted shepherd, whom you have conjured in the steadfastness of your hearts, with a crown supreme you have clothed him; to rule over the land of Bel mightily you have established him; priority of birth, supremacy and heroism have you given him; the destiny of his lordship for his increase and supremacy, to inhabit Bit-kharsag-kurkurra forever you have summoned.

Tiglath-Pileser I, circa 1125.

The first notable Assyrian conqueror; *Ancient World*, 27.

May Assur and the great gods who have magnified my kingdom, who have given increase and strength to my fetters, who have ordered the boundary of their land to be enlarged, cause my hand to hold their mighty weapons, even the deluge of battle. Countries, mountains, fortresses, and kinglets, the enemies of Assur, I have conquered, and their territories I have made submit. With sixty kings I have contended furiously, and power and rivalry over them I displayed. A rival in the combat, a confronter in the battle have I not. To the land of Assyria I have added land, to its men I have added men; the

Conquest and annexation.

Assur, the supreme god of Assyria.

boundary of my own land I have enlarged, and all their lands I have conquered. . . .

Treatment
of the con-
quered.

Trusting in Assur my lord I assembled my chariots and armies. Thereupon I delayed not. The mountain of Kasi-Yara, a difficult region, I crossed, with their twenty thousand fighting men, and their five kings in the land of Kummukh I contended. A destruction of them I made. The bodies of their warriors in destructive battle like the inundator (Rimmon) I overthrew; their corpses I spread over the valleys and the high places of the mountains. Their heads I cut off; at the sides of their cities I heaped them like mounds. Their spoil, their property, their goods, to a countless number I brought forth. Six thousand men, the relics of their armies, which before my weapons had fled, took my feet. I laid hold upon them and counted them among the men of my own country. . . .

He spares
suppliants.

Zoölogical
collection.

Under the protection of Uras, who loves me, 120 lions with my stout heart, in the conflict of my heroism on my feet, I slew; and 800 lions in my chariot with javelins I slaughtered. All the cattle of the field and the birds of heaven that fly, among my rareties I placed. . . .

V. NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S PALACE

This brief reference to the building of a palace in Babylon is taken from a long inscription by that monarch, whose chief interest was in the construction of public works and other internal improvements. *Records of the Past*, v. 130 f.

Site and
building ma-
terials.

A palace of My Royalty for the land of Babylon, in the midst of the city of Babylon. . . .

Ancient
World, 27.

Opposite the waters I laid its foundations and with brick and cement I skilfully surrounded it; tall cedars for its porticoes I fitted—ikki and cedar woods with layers of copper; domes and arches were covered with bronze work. I

strongly overlaid its gates with silver, gold, precious stones, whatsoever they call them, in heaps; I valiantly collected spoils; as an adornment of the house were they arranged, and were collected within it; trophies, abundance, royal treasures, I accumulated, and gathered together.

VI. BABYLON

Babylon itself also is situated in a plain. The wall is 385 stadia in circumference, and 32 feet in thickness. The height of the space between the towers is 50, and of the towers 60 cubits. The roadway upon the walls will allow chariots with four horses when they meet to pass each other with ease. Whence, among the seven wonders of the world, are reckoned this wall and the hanging garden: the shape of the garden is a square, and each side of it measures four plethra. It consists of vaulted terraces, raised one above another, and resting upon cube-shaped pillars. These are hollow and filled with earth to allow trees of the largest size to be planted. The pillars, the vaults, and the terraces are constructed of baked brick and asphalt.

**Walls and
Hanging
Gardens.**

Strabo xvi.
I. 5.

*Ancient
World, 27 f.*

The ascent to the highest story is by stairs, and at their side are water engines, by means of which persons, appointed expressly for the purpose, are continually employed in raising water from the Euphrates into the garden. For the river, which is a stadium in breadth, flows through the middle of the city, and the garden is on the side of the river.

VII. THE CHALDEAN ACCOUNT OF THE DELUGE

This account of the flood is found inscribed on some Assyrian tablets in the British Museum. The origin, age, and history of the legend are not known. It forms a part of the "Epic of Gilgamesh" in twelve books. *Ancient World*, 32. It is interesting to compare

this account of the deluge with that of Genesis, chs. vi-ix. (American) *Records of the Past*, i. 376-380.

The gods order the building of a ship.

Nuh-napishtim is the Babylonian Noah; Gilgamesh, to whom he tells the story, is a hero, like the Greek Hercules.

Shurippak is a city-state of Babylonia; Anu, god of heaven; Bel (Baal), "Lord," epithet of Ellil, god of earth; Ea, the sea god.

Building and freighting the ship.

A common cubit is about 18 inches.

Nuh-napishtim saith to him, even to Gilgamesh: let me unfold to thee, Gilgamesh, a secret story, and the decree of the gods let me tell thee! Shurippak, a city thou knowest. On the banks of the Euphrates it lieth; that city was full of violence, and the gods within it—to make a flood their heart urged them, even the mighty gods. Their father was Anu, their counsellor the warrior Bel, their throne-bearer Ninib, their champion Innugi. Nin-igiazeg, even Ia, had sat near them, and their talk he repeated to the reed-fence: "Reed-fence, reed-fence! House-wall! house-wall! Reed-fence listen! and house-wall, give heed! Man of Shurippak, son of Ubara-Tutu, pull down the house, and build a ship! Leave goods, seek life! Property forsake, and life preserve! Cause seed of life of every sort to go up into the ship! The ship which thou shalt build, exact be its dimensions; equal be its length and breadth! On the ocean launch it!"

I understood, and said unto Ia, my lord, "The command, my lord, which thou spakest thus, I honor, I will do it! But what shall I answer the city, the people, and the elders?" Ia framed his mouth and answered, He saith unto me, his slave, "Answer thus thou shalt make unto them, 'Bel hath rejected and hateth me, and I may no longer dwell in your city, and toward Bel's ground I may no longer turn my face; but I will go down to the ocean, and with Ia my lord will I dwell! Upon you it will rain heavily.'" . . .

On the fifth day I laid down the frame of it; at its bulwarks its sides were 140 cubits high; the border of its top equaled 140 cubits. I laid down its form, I figured it; I constructed it in six stories, dividing it into seven com-

partments; its floors I divided into nine chambers each. Water-pegs inside it I drove to stop leaks. I chose a mast and supplied what was necessary: six sars of bitumen I poured over the outside, three sars of bitumen I poured over the inside. While the basket-bearers were carrying three sars of oil abroad, I reserved one sar of oil, which the libations consumed; two sars of oil the shipmen stored away. For the men's food I slaughtered oxen; I slew small cattle every day; new wine, sesame wine, oil and grape wine, the people I gave to drink, like the water of a river. A feast I made, like New Year's Day. With all that I possessed I freighted it; with all that I had of silver I freighted it; with all that I had of gold I freighted it; with all that I had of seed of life of every sort I freighted it; I put on board all my family and clan; cattle of the field, wild beasts of the field, all the craftsmen, I put on board.

A time Samas appointed, saying, "When the Lord of Storm at eventide causes the heavens to rain heavily, enter into the ship, and shut thy door!" That time came; the Lord of Storm at eventide caused the heavens to rain heavily. I dreaded the appearance of day; I was afraid of beholding day; I entered the ship and shut my door. For the steering of the ship, to Bezur-Bel, the shipman, the great vessel I handed over, with its freight. When the first light of dawn appeared there rose from the foundation of heaven a black cloud: Rimmon in the heart of it thunders, and Nebo and Marduk march before; the Throne-Bearers march o'er mountain and plain. The mighty Dibbarra wrenches away the helm; Ninib goes on, pouring out ruin. The Anunnaki (earth spirits) lift torches; with their sheen they lighten the world. Rimmon's violence reacheth heaven; whatever is bright he turneth into darkness. One day the southern blast hard it blew, and like a

The flood.

Samas is the sun god.

Rimmon, god of storms; Marduk, god of Babylon; Nebo, his son.

Ninib, chief of the earth spirits.

Ishtar, goddess of love and beauty, like the Greek Aphrodite (Lat. Venus).

battle-charge upon mankind rush the waters. One no longer sees another; no more are men discerned in heaven. The gods were dismayed at the flood, and sought refuge in ascending to the highest heaven; the gods cowered like dogs; on the battlements of heaven they crouched. Ishtar screamed like a woman in travail, the loud-voiced Lady of the gods exclaims, "Yon generation is turned again to clay! As I in the assembly of the gods foretold the evil—like as I foretold in the assembly of the gods the evil; a tempest for the destruction of the people I foretold. But I will give birth to my people again, though like the fry of fishes they fill the sea!" Because of the Anunnaki, the gods wept with her; the gods were downcast, they sat weeping; closed were their lips. During six days and nights wind, flood, storm, ever more fiercely whelmed the land.

The flood abates.

When the seventh day came, storm and flood ceased the battle, wherein they had contended like a host: the sea lulled, the blast fell, the flood ceased. I looked for the people with a cry of lamentation; but all mankind had turned again into clay; the tilled land was becoming like the waste. I opened the window, and daylight fell upon my cheeks; crouching I sit and weep; over my cheeks course my tears. I looked at the heavens, the borders of the sea; toward the twelfth point rose the land. To the country of Nizir the ship made way; the mountain of the country of Nizir caught the ship, and suffered it not to stir. One day, a second day, the mountains of Nizir caught the ship; a third day, a fourth day, the mountains of Nizir caught the ship; a fifth, a sixth, the mountains of Nizir caught the ship. But when the seventh day was come, I brought out a dove and let it go. The dove went to and fro, but found no foothold, and returned. Then I brought out a swallow and let it go; the swallow went to and fro,

but found no foothold and returned. Then I brought out a raven and let it go; the raven went off, noticed the dying of the water, and feeding, wading, croaking, returned not.

Then I brought out everything to the four winds, sacrificed victims, made an offering of incense on the mountain top; seven and seven tripods I set, into their bowls I poured calamus, cedar, fragrant herbs; the gods snuffed the odor, the gods snuffed the pleasant odor, the gods like flies swarmed above the sacrificer. But when Ishtar was come from afar, she lifted up the Great Gems, which Anu had made to adorn her. "These gods," she cried, "by mine azure collar I will never forget! These days will I bear in mind and nevermore forget! Let the gods go to the incense offering! But let Bel never go to the incense offering. Forasmuch as he took no counsel, but caused the flood and delivered my people to destruction." But when Bel was come from afar, he saw the ship, and Bel waxed wrathful; he was filled with wrath at the gods, and the Igigi (spirits of heaven): "Some soul," he cried, "hath escaped! Let not a man survive the destruction!" Ninib frameth his mouth and speaketh—he saith to the warrior Bel: "Who then but Ia doeth the thing? Ia is versed in every wile."

They go forth from the ship.

Ia frameth his mouth and speaketh—he saith to the warrior Bel, "Thou, O sage of the gods and warrior, in nowise hast thou been well-counselled in causing a flood! On the sinner lay his sin! On the guilty lay his guilt! But remit somewhat! Let him not be cut off! forbear! let him not be swept away! Instead of thy causing a flood, let the lion come and minish mankind! Instead of thy causing a flood, let the leopard come and minish mankind! Instead of thy causing a flood, let famine break out and desolate the land! Instead of thy causing a flood,

Other forms of destruction for men.

Nuh-napishtim and his wife become gods.

let pestilence come and slay mankind! I divulged not the decision of the mighty gods; someone caused Atranasis to see visions, and so he heard the decisions of the gods." Thereupon he took counsel with himself; Bel came on board the ship, seized my hand and led me up out of the ship, let up my wife and made her kneel beside me; he turned us face to face, and standing between us, blessed us, saying, "Ere this, Nuh-napishtim was human; but now Nuh-napishtim and his wife shall be like us gods! Nuh-napishtim shall dwell far away from men, at the mouth of the rivers!" Then they took me, and made me dwell far away, at the mouth of the rivers.

VIII. THE DESCENT OF ISHTAR TO HADES

This legend is from a tablet in the British Museum. The beginning of it is here given for the purpose of showing the Babylonian and Assyrian view of the future world and of the condition of the dead. *Records of the Past*, i². 145 ff.

To the land of Hades, the region of her desire, Ishtar daughter of the Moon-god San turned her mind, and the daughter of San fixed her mind to go there; to the house where all meet, the dwelling of the god Irkalla, to the house men enter, but cannot depart from; to the road men go, but cannot return. The abode of darkness and famine, where earth is their food; their nourishment is clay; light is not seen; in darkness they dwell; ghosts, like birds, flutter their wings there; on the door and gate-posts the dust lies undisturbed.

IX. PRAYERS FOR THE SOUL OF A DYING MAN

Records of the Past, iii. 134.

I. Like a bird may it fly to a lofty place! To the holy lands of its god, may it ascend!

II. The man who is departing in glory: may his soul shine radiant as brass. To that man may the Sun give life! and Marduk, eldest Son of heaven, grant him an abode of happiness!

These prayers afford a far happier outlook upon the future life.

X. AN ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATION

Report of the astronomer Ablua to the king of Accad. *Records of the Past*, i². 159.

The 15th day the Moon and Sun with one another are seen. The face is steadfast. The heart of land is good. Joy possesses the heart of the inhabitants. The gods of Accad to prosperity consign it. The Moon and the Sun are clear; the King of the land his ears enlarges. The report of Ablua.

XI. BABYLONIAN CHARMS

The Babylonians and Assyrians believed in hosts of noxious spirits which attacked different parts of the body. The charms were repeated to keep them away or to expel them from the body. *Records of the Past*, i². 135-7.

Wasting, want of health, the evil spirit of the ulcer, spreading quinsey of the gullet, the violent ulcer, the noxious ulcer. Spirit of heaven remember, spirit of earth remember.

The aim of this charm is to expel the disease described.

He who makes an image which injures the man, an evil face, an evil eye, an evil mouth, an evil tongue, evil lips, an evil poison. Spirit of heaven remember, spirit of earth remember.

This charm is to counteract the evil influence of such image.

On the sick man by the sacrifice of mercy may perfect health shine like bronze; may the Sun-god give this man life; may Marduk, the eldest son of the deep give him

Charm for the cure of the sick.

strength, prosperity, and health. Spirit of heaven remember, spirit of earth remember.

XII. BABYLONIAN CUSTOMS

Dress.

Herodotus i.
195.

The following is the manner of dress which they use, namely a linen tunic reaching to the feet, and over this they put on another of wool, and then a white mantle thrown around, while they have shoes of native fashion rather like the Bœotian slippers. They wear their hair long and bind their heads around with fillets, and they are anointed over the whole of their bodies with perfumes. Each man has a seal and staff carved by hand, and on each staff is carved either an apple or a rose or a lily or an eagle or some other device, for it is not their custom to have a staff without a device upon it.

Marriage.

Ib. 196.

Such is the equipment of their bodies: and the customs which are established among them are as follows, the wisest in our opinion being this, which I am informed that the Enetoi in Illyria also have. In every village once in each year it was done as follows:—when the maidens grew to the age for marriage, they gathered these all together and brought them in a body to one place, and round them stood a company of men: and the crier caused each one severally to stand up, and proceeded to sell them, first the most comely of all, and afterwards, when she had been sold and had fetched a large sum of money, he would put up another who was the most comely after her: and they were sold for marriage. Now all the wealthy men of the Babylonians who were ready to marry vied with one another in bidding for the most beautiful maidens; those however of the common sort who were ready to marry did not require a fine form, but they would accept money together with less comely maidens. For when the crier

had made an end of selling the most comely of the maidens, then he would cause to stand up the one who was least shapely, or any one of them who might be crippled in any way, and he would make proclamation of her, asking who was willing for least gold to have her in marriage, until she was assigned to him who was willing to accept least; and the gold would be got from the sale of the comely maidens, and so those of beautiful form provided dowries for those who were unshapely or crippled; but to give in marriage one's own daughter to whomsoever each man would, was not allowed, nor to carry off the maiden after buying her without a surety; for it was necessary for the man to provide sureties that he would marry her, before he took her away; and if they did not agree well together, the law was laid down that he should pay back the money.

STUDIES

1. Describe in simple language the achievements of Sargon. What does the writer suppose to have been the cause of the famine?
2. Of what especial achievements does Hammurabi boast?
3. How were crimes punished under his code? What legal rights were enjoyed by women? by children?
4. What had the Assyrian gods to do with conquest? What are all the motives to conquest mentioned in this selection? How were the conquered treated?
5. Describe Nebuchadnezzar's palace.
6. Describe the two greatest "Wonders" of Babylon.
7. Where in the Bible is the account of the flood? Compare it in detail with the Chaldean account.
8. What view of the future life do we find in this selection?
9. Compare this view of the future world with that in the selection above.
10. Explain the meaning of this selection.
11. What light does this selection throw on Babylonian character?
12. What is your opinion of the marriage custom of the Babylonians here described by Herodotus?

CHAPTER IV

SYRIA: THE PHŒNICIANS AND THE HEBREWS

I. SIDON AND TYRE

**Comparative
importance.**

Strabo xvi. 2.
22-4.

*Ancient
World*, 38 f.

**Tyre: its
dwellings
and dye-
works.**

*Ancient
World*, 280 f.

NEXT to Sidon is Tyre, the largest and most ancient city of the Phœnicians. This city is the rival of Sidon in magnitude, fame, and antiquity, as recorded in many fables. For although poets have celebrated Sidon more than Tyre (Homer does not even mention Tyre), yet the colonies sent into Africa and Spain, as far as, and beyond the pillars, extol much more the glory of Tyre. Both however were formerly, and are at present, distinguished and illustrious cities, but which of the two should be called the capital of Phœnicia is a subject of dispute among the inhabitants. Sidon is situated upon a fine naturally-formed harbor on the mainland.

Tyre is wholly an island, built in nearly the same manner as Aradus. It is joined to the continent by a mound, which Alexander raised, when he was besieging it. It has two harbors, one close, the other open, which is called the Egyptian harbor. The houses here, it is said, consist of many stories, of more than at Rome; on the occurrence, therefore, of an earthquake, the city was nearly demolished. It sustained great injury when it was taken by siege by Alexander, but it rose above these misfortunes, and recovered itself both by the skill of the people in the art of navigation, in which the Phœnicians in general have always excelled all nations, and by (the export of) purple-dyed manufactures, the Tyrian purple being in the highest esti-

mation. The shell-fish from which it is procured is caught near the coast, and the Tyrians have in great abundance other requisites for dyeing. The great number of dyeing works renders the city unpleasant as a place of residence, but the superior skill of the people in the practice of this art is the source of its wealth. Their independence was secured to them at a small expense to themselves, not only by the kings of Syria, but also by the Romans, who confirmed what the former had conceded. They pay extravagant honors to Hercules. The great number and magnitude of their colonies and cities are proofs of their maritime skill and power. Such then are the Tyrians.

The Sidonians are said by historians to excel in various kinds of art, as the words of Homer also imply. Besides, they cultivate science and study astronomy and arithmetic, to which they were led by the application of numbers (in accounts) and night sailing, each of which (branches of knowledge) concerns the merchant and seaman.

Intellectual Life.

Strabo l. c.

II. THE CASSITERIDES ISLANDS

The Cassiterides are ten in number, and lie near each other in the ocean towards the north from the haven of the Artabri. One of them is desert, but the others are inhabited by men in black cloaks, clad in tunics reaching to the feet, girt about the breast, and walking with staves, thus resembling the Furies we see in tragic representations. They subsist by their cattle, leading for the most part a wandering life. Of the metals they have tin and lead; which with skins they barter with the merchants for earthenware, salt, and brazen vessels. Formerly the Phœnicians alone carried on this traffic from Gades, concealing the passage from every one; and when the Romans

The Natives and their trade.

Strabo iii. 5, II.

followed a certain ship-master, that they also might find the market, the ship-master in jealousy purposely ran his vessel upon a shoal, leading on those who followed him into the same destructive disaster; he himself escaped by means of a fragment of the ship, and received from the state the value of the cargo he had lost. The Romans nevertheless by frequent efforts discovered the passage, and as soon as Publius Crassus, passing over to them, perceived that the metals were dug out at a little depth and that the men were peaceably disposed, he declared it to those who already wished to traffic in this sea for profit, although the passage was longer than that to Britain.

III. PHŒNICIANS WORK THE IBERIAN SILVER MINES

The Silver
mines.

Diodorus v. 2.

*Ancient
World*, 39 f.

Almost all this country is full of such mines, whence is dug very good and pure silver; so that those who deal in that metal, gain great profit. And in the former book we have spoken of the Pyrenees mountains in Iberia, when we treated of the acts and achievements of Hercules; these are the highest and greatest of all; for from the south sea, almost as far as the northern ocean, they divide Gaul from Iberia and Celtiberia, running out for the space of three thousand furlongs. As these places are full of woods, it is reported that in ancient time this mountainous tract was set on fire by some shepherds, and continued burning for many days together, whence the mountains were called Pyrenees. The parched surface of the earth sweated, abundance of silver, the ore being melted, flowed down in pure streams like a river. Its use being unknown to the inhabitants, the Phœnician merchants bought it for trifles given in exchange, and by transporting it into Greece, Asia, and all other nations, greatly enriched themselves; and such was their covetousness, that when they had fully

loaded their ships, and had much more silver to bring aboard, they cut off the lead from their anchors, and made use of silver instead of the other metal.

For a long time using this trade, and so growing more and more wealthy, the Phœnicians sent many colonies into Sicily and the neighboring islands, and at length into Africa and Sardinia.

IV. PHŒNICIAN TRADE

The Carthaginians say also this, namely, that there is a place in Libya and men dwelling there, outside the Pillars of Heracles, to whom when they have come and have taken the merchandise forth from their ships, they set it in order along the beach and embark again in their ships, and after that they raise a smoke; and the natives of the country seeing the smoke, come to the sea, and then they lay down gold as an equivalent for the merchandise and retire to a distance away from the merchandise. The Carthaginians upon that disembark and examine it, and if the gold is, in their opinion, sufficient for the value of the merchandise, they take it up and go their way; but if not, they embark again in their ships and sit there; and the others approach and straightway add more gold to the former, until they satisfy them; and they say that neither party wrongs the other; for neither do the Carthaginians lay hands on the gold until it is made equal to the value of their merchandise, nor do the others lay hands on the merchandise until the Carthaginians have taken the gold.

A peculiar
method of
barter.

Herodotus iv.
196.

V. THE COMMERCE OF TYRE

O Tyrus, thou hast said, I am of perfect beauty.

Thy borders are in the midst of the seas, thy builders have perfected thy beauty.

Industries
and imports.

Ezekiel xxvii.
3-19.

They have made all thy ship boards of fir trees of Senir; they have taken cedars from Lebanon to make masts for thee.

Of the oaks of Bashan they have made thine oars; the company of the Ashurites have made thy benches of ivory, brought out of the isles of Chittim.

Fine linen with brodered work from Egypt was that which thou spreadest forth to be thy sail; blue and purple from the isles of Elishah was that which covered thee.

The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy mariners: thy wise men, O Tyrus, that were in thee, were thy pilots. . . .

Tarshish was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of all kind of riches; with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded in thy fairs.

Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, they were thy merchants; they traded the persons of men and vessels of brass in thy market.

They of the house of Togarmah traded in thy fairs with horses and horsemen and mules.

The men of Dedan were thy merchants; many isles were the merchandise of thy hand; they brought thee for a present horns of ivory and ebony.

Syria was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of the wares of thy making; they occupied in thy fairs with emeralds, purple, and brodered work, and fine linen, and coral, and agate.

Judah, and the land of Israel, they were thy merchants; they traded in thy market wheat of Minnith and Pannag, and honey, and oil, and balm.

Damascus was thy merchant in the multitude of the wares of thy making, for the multitude of all riches; in the wine of Helbon, and white wool.

Dan also and Javan going to and fro occupied in thy fairs; bright iron, cassia, and calamus, were in thy market.

VI. THEY GAVE THE ALPHABET TO GREECE

Now these Phœnicians brought in among the Hellenes many arts when they settled in this land of Bœotia, and especially letters, which did not exist, as it appears to me, among the Hellenes before this time; and at first they brought in those which are used by the Phœnician race generally, but afterwards, as time went on, they changed with their speech the form of the letters also. During this time the Ionians were the race of Hellenes who dwelt near them in most of the places where they were; and these having received letters by instruction of the Phœnicians, changed their form slightly and so made use of them, and in doing so they declared them to be called "phenicians" as was just, seeing that the Phœnicians had introduced them into Hellas. Also the Ionians from ancient times call paper "skins," because, formerly paper being scarce, they used skins of sheep and goats; nay, even in my own time many of the Barbarians write on such skins.

Herodotus v
58.

VII. LETTER OF EBED-TOB, GOVERNOR OF JERUSALEM, TO THE KING OF EGYPT

In the latter part of the fifteenth century, the successors of Thothmes III weakened and his great empire declined; *Ancient World*, 12. Syria, his chief dependency, fell into anarchy. The petty princes and governors of cities warred against one another and rebelled against pharaoh. Letters poured into his hands from them, accusing one another of disloyalty and imploring military protection. A great number of these letters have been found in excavations at Tel-el-Amarna, Egypt. Written in the Babylonian language and the cuneiform script, they prove the dominance of Babylonian culture

over Syria in the fifteenth century and the use of the Babylonian language for general diplomatic purposes. The following letter was addressed to pharaoh by Ebed-Tob, priest-king of Jerusalem long before the Hebrew conquest of Canaan. *Records of the Past*, v². 66-8.

**Letter of
Ebed-Tob to
pharaoh.**

Someone has
accused
Ebed-Tob of
disloyalty to
pharaoh.

He has re-
ceived his
kingdom, not
by inheri-
tance, but di-
rectly from
God. He
protests his
innocence.

The Commis-
sioner, an
officer of
pharaoh;
confederates,
people of
Hebron, a
city hostile to
Jerusalem.

Governors,
appointed by
pharaoh to
rule the cities.
The country,
wasted by
civil war,
needs mili-
tary protec-
tion.

To the king my lord speak thus: I Ebed-tob, thy serv-
ant, at the feet of my lord the king, seven times seven
prostrate myself. What have I done against the king my
lord? They have slandered myself, laying wait for me in
the presence of the king, the lord, saying: Ebed-tob has
revolted from the king his lord. Behold, neither my
father nor my mother has exalted me in this place; the
prophecy of the mighty King has caused me to enter the
house of my father. Why should I have committed a sin
against the king the lord? With the king my lord is life.
I say to the Commissioner of the king my lord: Why dost
thou love the Confederates, and the governors thou hat-
est? and constantly I am sending to the presence of the
king my lord to say that the countries of the king my lord
are being destroyed. . . .

All the governors are destroyed; no governor remains
to the king the lord. May the king turn his face to the
men, and may he send auxiliaries, even the troops of the
king my lord. No countries remain unto the king: the
Confederates have wasted all the countries of the king.
If auxiliaries come this year, the countries of the king the
lord will be preserved; but if no auxiliaries come the coun-
tries of the king my lord are destroyed. . . .

VIII. THE TEN COMMANDMENTS

And God spake all these words, saying,

I am the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out
of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.

Thou shalt have no other gods before me.

Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: *Exodus xx. 1-17.*

Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them nor serve them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me;

And shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me and keep my commandments.

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain.

Remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy.

Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work;

But the seventh day is the sabbath of the Lord thy God; in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates:

For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: wherefore the Lord blessed the sabbath day and hallowed it.

Honor thy father and thy mother: that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

Thou shalt not kill.

Thou shalt not commit adultery.

Thou shalt not steal.

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his manservant, nor his maidservant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbor's.

IX. THE BUILDING OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE

**The work-
men.**

And king Solomon raised a levy out of all Israel; and the levy was thirty thousand men.

*I Kings v.
13-18; vi.*

And he sent them to Lebanon, ten thousand a month by courses; a month they were in Lebanon, and two months at home; and Adoniram was over the levy.

And Solomon had three score and ten thousand that bare burdens, and fourscore thousand hewers in the mountains;

*Ancient
World, 44.*

Beside the chief of Solomon's officers which were over the work, three thousand and three hundred, which ruled over the people that wrought in the work.

Materials.

And the king commanded, and they brought great stones, costly stones, and hewed stones, to lay the foundation of the house.

And Solomon's builders and Hiram's builders did hew them, and the stonesquarers; so they prepared timber and stones to build the house.

And it came to pass in the four hundred and eightieth year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt, in the fourth year of Solomon's reign over Israel, in the month Zif, which is the second month, that he began to build the house of the Lord.

Dimensions.

And the house which king Solomon built for the Lord, the length thereof was threescore cubits, and the breadth thereof twenty cubits, and the height thereof thirty cubits.

And the porch before the temple of the house, twenty cubits was the length thereof, according to the breadth of the house; and ten cubits was the breadth thereof before the house.

And for the house he made windows of narrow lights.

Chambers.

And against the wall of the house he built chambers

round about, against the walls of the house round about, both of the temple and the oracle; and he made chambers round about:

The nethermost chamber was five cubits broad, and the middle was six cubits broad, and the third was seven cubits broad; for without in the wall of the house he made narrowed rests round about, that the beams should not be fastened in the walls of the house.

And the house when it was in building, was built of stone made ready before it was brought thither; so that there was neither hammer nor ax nor any tool of iron heard in the house, while it was in building.

The door for the middle chamber was in the right side of the house; and they went up with winding stairs into the middle chamber, and out of the middle into the third.

So he built the house, and finished it; and covered the house with beams and boards of cedar.

And then he built chambers against all the house, five cubits high; and they rested on the house with timber of cedar.

And the word of the Lord came to Solomon, saying,

The promise
of the Lord.

Concerning this house which thou art in building, if thou wilt walk in my statutes, and execute my judgments, and keep all my commandments to walk in them; then will I perform my word with thee, which I spake unto David thy father;

And I will dwell among the children of Israel, and will not forsake my people Israel.

So Solomon built the house, and finished it.

And he built the walls of the house within with boards of cedar, both the floor of the house, and the walls of the ceiling; and he covered them on the inside with wood, and covered the floor of the house with planks of fir. **The interior.**

And he built twenty cubits on the sides of the house, both the floor and the walls with boards of cedar; he even built them for it within, even for the oracle, even for the most holy place.

And the house, that is the temple before it, was forty cubits long.

And the cedar of the house within was carved with knops and open flowers; all was cedar; there was no stone seen.

And the oracle he prepared in the house within, to set there the ark of the covenant of the Lord.

And the oracle in the forepart was twenty cubits in length, and twenty cubits in breadth, and twenty cubits in the height thereof; and he overlaid it with pure gold; and so covered the altar which was of cedar.

So Solomon overlaid the house within with pure gold; and he made a partition by the chains of gold before the oracle; and he overlaid it with gold.

And the whole house he overlaid with gold, until he had finished all the house; also the whole altar that was by the oracle he overlaid with gold.

Cherubims.

And within the oracle he made two cherubims of olive tree, each ten cubits high.

And five cubits was the one wing of the cherub, and five cubits the other wing of the cherub; from the uttermost part of the one wing unto the uttermost part of the other were ten cubits.

And the other cherub was ten cubits; both the cherubims were of one measure and one size.

The height of the one cherub was ten cubits, and so was it of the other cherub.

And he set the cherubims within the inner house; and they stretched forth the wings of the cherubims, so that the wing of the one touched the one wall, and the wing of

the other cherub touched the other wall; and their wings touched one another in the midst of the house.

And he overlaid the cherubims with gold.

And he carved all the walls of the house round about with carved figures of cherubims and palm trees and open flowers, within and without.

And the floor of the house he overlaid with gold, within and without.

And for the entering of the oracle he made doors of olive tree; the lintel and side posts were a fifth part of the wall.

And the two doors were of fir tree; the two leaves of the one door were folding, and the two leaves of the other door were folding.

And he carved thereon cherubims and palm trees and open flowers; and covered them with gold fitted upon the carved work.

And he built the inner court with three rows of hewed stone, and a row of cedar beams.

In the fourth year was the foundation of the house of the Lord laid, in the month Zif.

And in the eleventh year, in the month Bul, which is the eighth month, was the house finished throughout all the parts thereof, and according to all the fashion of it. So was he seven years in building it.

X. THE GOODNESS AND MERCY OF GOD

The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want.

He maketh me to lie down in the green pastures: he leadeth me beside the still waters.

The Lord is
my Shep-
herd.

He restoreth my soul: he leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake. *Psalm xxiii.*

Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of

death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.

Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies: thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over.

Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life; and I will dwell in the house of the Lord forever.

STUDIES

1. What was the condition of Sidon and Tyre in Strabo's time?
2. Where were the Cassiterides islands and what were their products?
3. What metals did the Phœnicians find in Iberia (Spain)? How did this wealth influence them?
4. Describe the peculiar method of barter followed by the Carthaginians in Libya? Who were the Carthaginians?
5. Who was Ezekiel and what did he write? Mention the various articles bought and sold in the Tyrian markets.
6. What was the chief benefit of the Phœnicians to Greece? What were the writing materials?
7. What position was held by Ebed-Tob? Compare him with Melchizedek (Genesis xiv. 18-20), another priest-king of Jerusalem.
8. Where is the book called Exodus found? Compare the Ten Commandments with the best Egyptian precepts.
9. Describe Solomon's temple.
10. What conception of God is given in this psalm? Contrast it with the Assyrian conception of the deity?

CHAPTER V

THE MEDIAN AND PERSIAN EMPIRES

I. MEDIA: COUNTRY AND CUSTOMS

It is a Median custom to elect the bravest person as **The King.** king, but this does not generally prevail, being confined to the mountain tribes. The custom for the kings to have many wives is more general, it is found among all the mountaineers also, but they are not permitted to have less than five. In the same manner the women think it honorable for husbands to have as many wives as possible, and esteem it a misfortune if they have less than five.

Strabo xi.
13. 11.

While the rest of Media is very fertile, the northern and mountainous part is barren. The people subsist upon the produce of trees. They make cakes of apples, sliced and dried, and bread of roasted almonds; they express a wine from some kind of roots. They eat the flesh of wild animals and do not breed any tame animals. So much then respecting the Medes. As to the laws and customs in common use throughout the whole of Media, as they are the same as those of the Persians in consequence of the establishment of the Persian empire, I shall speak of them when I give an account of the latter nation.

II. EMPIRE OF DARIUS

The following account of the Persian Empire, composed by Darius, is given in an inscription. It describes the composition of the empire and illustrates the King's reverence for Ormazd, the supreme deity of the Persians. *Records of the Past*, v. 151-3.

Extent of his empire.

Ancient World, 50 f.

Ormazd (A-hura Mazda), the supreme deity.

Map, *Ancient World*, before p. I.

The empire did not in fact include Sparta.

Protection and maintenance of peace.

Notice his high conception of duty to the empire.

Chief of the gods is Ormazd, who created heaven and earth, and created mankind; who gave to men their various fortunes; who created Darius, King of many Kings. I am Darius the great King, the King of Kings, the King of the nations of every different tongue; the King of the vast and wide world; son of Hystaspes the Achæmenian: a Persian, son of a Persian. Darius the King says: Under the protection of Ormazd, these are the countries which I hold besides Persia: and whatever tribute I have commanded them to bring, that they brought; and whatever things I commanded them to do, that they did; and they fulfilled my laws. Media, Susiana, Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Zarangia, Arachosia, Sattagydia, Gandaria, India; those Cimmerians who are called the Humurga, those other Cimmerians who wear gloves on their hands, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Sparta, Ionia, those Cimmerians who dwell beyond the seas, in the land of Scythia; those Ionians who wear helmets on their heads; the Budians, the Cossæans, the Masians, and the land of Cartha.

Darius the king says: When Ormazd saw that these countries were at war with each other continually, after he had given me to them and had appointed me to be King over them, then I the king under the protection of Ormazd kept them all quiet in their right places. Whatever I said, that they did, and they wished the thing that I wished. And if thou shouldst say thus, "Surely those nations will quarrel and split asunder who now obey Darius the King," look well at those statutes which support my throne, and if thou dost recognize them, then it will be known to thee that the spear of the Persian reaches far! Then it will be known to thee, that the men of Persia, far beyond their own country, wars are wont to wage.

Darius the King says, "All this that I have done, under the protection of Ormazd, I have done it. Ormazd gave me the strength to do these things. May Ormazd protect me from everything that is evil, both my family and my country, this I pray Ormazd: may Ormazd grant it! O man! whatever Ormazd commands, do thou not rebel against it!

III. THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF DARIUS

Near the western border of Iran stands the isolated rock of Behistan, on one side rising almost perpendicular to a height of 1700 feet. More than 300 feet above the base Darius the king had his artists smooth a large irregular oblong. On the surface thus prepared they sculptured scenes from his religious and military life and a chronicle of his deeds. The selection given below is from H. C. Tolman, *The Behistan Inscription of King Darius*.

Says Darius the king: Afterward there was one man, a Magian, Gaumata by name: . . . he thus deceived the people; I am Bardiya the son of Cyrus, brother of Cambyses; afterward all the people became estranged from Cambyses and went over to him, both Persia and Media and the other provinces; he seized the kingdom; 9 days in the month Garmapada were in course—he thus seized the kingdom; afterwards Cambyses died by a self-imposed death.

Says Darius the king: This kingdom which Gaumata the Magian took from Cambyses, this kingdom from long ago was the possession of our family; afterwards Gaumata the Magian took from Cambyses both Persia and Media and the other provinces; he seized the power and made it his own possession; he became king.

Says Darius the king: There was not a man neither a Persian nor a Median nor any one of our family who could

make Gaumata the Magian deprived of the kingdom; the people feared his tyranny; they feared he would slay the many who knew Bardiya formerly; for this reason he would slay the people, "that they might not know me that I am not Bardiya the son of Cyrus;" anyone did not dare to say anything against Gaumata the Magian until I came; afterwards I asked Auramazda for help; Auramazda bore me aid; 10 days in the month Bagayadish were in course—I thus with few men slew that Gaumata the Magian and what men were his foremost allies; . . . I took the kingdom from him; by the grace of Auramazda I became king; Auramazda gave me the kingdom.

Says Darius the king: The kingdom which was taken away from our family, this I put in its place; I establish it on its foundations; as it was formerly so I made it; the sanctuaries which Gaumata the Magian destroyed I restored; for the people, the revenue and the personal property and the estates and the royal residences which Gaumata the Magian took from them I restored; I established the state on its foundation, both Persia and Media and the other provinces; as it was formerly, so I brought back what had been taken away; by the grace of Auramazda this I did; I labored that our royal house I might establish in its place; as it was formerly so I made it; I labored by the grace of Auramazda that Gaumata the Magian might not take away our royal house. . . .

Says Darius the king: For this reason Auramazda bore me aid and the other gods which are, because I was not an enemy; I was not a deceiver, I was not a wrong-doer, neither I nor my family; according to rectitude I ruled nor made I my power an oppression to those who praise me; the man who helped my house, him who should be well esteemed I esteemed; the man who would

destroy it, him who should deserve punishment, I punished.

IV. PERSIAN CUSTOMS

These are the customs, so far as I know, which the Persians practice: Images and temples and altars they do not account it lawful to erect, nay they even charge with folly those who do these things; and this, as it seems to me, because they do not account the gods to be in the likeness of men, as do the Hellenes. But it is their wont to perform sacrifices to Zeus, going up to the most lofty of the mountains, and the whole circle of the heavens they call Zeus: and they sacrifice to the Sun and the Moon and the Earth, to Fire and to Water and to the Winds: these are the only gods to whom they have sacrificed even from the first; but they have learnt also to sacrifice to Aphrodite Urania, having learnt it from the Assyrians and the Arabians. . . .

Religion.

Herodotus, i
131.

*Ancient
World, 54 f.*

Now this is the manner of sacrifice for the gods aforesaid which is established among the Persians:—they make no altars, neither do they kindle fire; and when they mean to sacrifice they use no libation nor music of the pipe nor chaplets nor meal for sprinkling; but when a man wishes to sacrifice to any one of the gods, he leads the animal for sacrifice to an unpolluted place and calls upon the god, having his tiara wreathed round generally with a branch of myrtle. For himself alone separately the man who sacrifices may not request good things in his prayer but he prays that it may be well with all the Persians and with the King; for he himself also is included of course in the whole body of Persians. And when he has cut up the victim into pieces and boiled the flesh, he spreads a layer of the freshest grass and especially clover, upon which he places forthwith all the pieces of flesh; and when he has

**Manner of
sacrifice.**

Herodotus i
132.

60 The Median and Persian Empires

placed them in order, a Magian man stands by them and chants over them a theogony (for of this nature they say that their incantation is), seeing that without a Magian it is not lawful for them to make sacrifices. Then after waiting a short time, the sacrificer carries away the flesh and uses it for whatever purpose he pleases.

Festal days. And of all their days their wont is to honor most that on which they were born, each one: on this they think it right to set out a feast more liberal than on other days; and in this feast the wealthier of them set upon the table an ox or a horse or a camel or an ass, roasted whole in an oven, and the poor among them set out small animals in the same way. They have few solid dishes, but many served up after as dessert, and these not in a single course; and for this reason the Persians say that the Hellenes leave off dinner hungry, because after dinner they have nothing worth mentioning served up as dessert, whereas if any good dessert were served up they would not stop eating so soon.

Wine-drinking. To wine-drinking they are very much given. . . . And they are wont to deliberate when drinking hard about the most important of their affairs, and whatsoever conclusion has pleased them in their deliberation, this on the next day, when they are sober, the master of the house in which they happen to be when they deliberate lays before them for discussion: and if it pleases them when they are sober also, they adopt it, but if it does not please them, they let it go: and that on which they have had the first deliberation when they are sober, they consider again when they are drinking.

Salutations. When they meet one another in the roads, by this you may discern, whether those who meet are of equal rank,—for instead of greeting by words they kiss one another on

the mouth; but if one of them is a little inferior to the other, they kiss one another on the cheeks, and if one is of much less noble rank than the other, he falls down before him and does worship to him.

And they honor of all most after themselves those nations which dwell nearest to them, and next those which dwell next nearest, and so they go on giving honor in proportion to distance; and they hold least in honor those who dwell furthest off from themselves, esteeming themselves to be by far the best of all the human race in every point, and thinking that others possess merit according to the proportion which is here stated, and that those who dwell furthest from themselves are the worst. And under the supremacy of the Medes the various nations used also to govern one another according to the same rule as the Persians observe in giving honor, the Medes governing the whole and in particular those who dwelt nearest to themselves, and these having rule over those who bordered upon them, and those again over the nations that were next to them: for the race went forward thus ever from government by themselves to government through others.

Their opinion of other nations.

The Persians more than any other men admit foreign usages; for they both wear the Median dress, judging it to be more comely than their own, and also for fighting, the Egyptian corslet: moreover they adopt all kinds of luxuries when they hear of them. . . .

They borrow foreign customs.

Ib. 135.

It is established as a sign of manly excellence next after excellence in fight, to be able to show many sons; and to those who have the most the king sends gifts every year: for they consider number to be a source of strength. And they educate their children, beginning at five years old and going on till twenty, in three things only, in riding,

Family and education.

Ib. 136.

shooting, and in speaking the truth; but before the boy is five years old he does not come into the presence of his father, but lives with the women; and it is so done for this reason, that if the child should die while he is being bred up, he may not be the cause of any grief to his father. I commend this custom of theirs, and also the one which is next to be mentioned, namely that neither the king himself shall put any to death for one cause alone, nor any of the other Persians for one cause alone shall do hurt that is irremediable to any of his own servants; but if after reckoning he find that the wrongs done are more in number and greater than the services rendered, then only he gives vent to his anger. Moreover they say that no one ever killed his own father or mother, but whatever deeds have been done which seemed to be of this nature, if examined must necessarily, they say, be found to be due either to changelings or to children of adulterous birth; for, say they, it is not reasonable to suppose that the true parent would be killed by his own son.

Capital punishment.

Ib. 137.

Lying and business.

Ib. 138.

Leprosy.

Whatever things it is not lawful for them to do, these it is not lawful for them even to speak of: and the most disgraceful thing in their estimation is to tell a lie, and next to this is to owe money, this last for many other reasons, but especially because it is necessary, they say, for him who owes money, also sometimes to tell lies; and whosoever of the men of the city has leprosy or whiteness of skin, he does not come into a city nor mingle with the other Persians; and they say that he has these diseases because he has in some way offended against the Sun: but a stranger who is taken by these diseases, in many regions they drive out of the country altogether, and also white doves, alleging against them the same cause. And into a river they neither spit, neither do they wash their

hands in it, nor allow any other to do these things, but they reverence rivers very greatly. . . .

So much am I able to say for certain from my own knowledge about them: but what follows is reported about their dead as a secret mystery and not with clearness, namely that the body of a Persian man is not buried until it has been torn by a bird or a dog. (The Magians I know for a certainty have this practice, for they do it openly). However that may be, the Persians cover the body with wax and then bury it in the earth. Now the Magians are distinguished in many ways from other men, as also from the priests of Egypt; for these last esteem it a matter of purity to kill no living creature except the animals which they sacrifice; but the Magians kill with their own hands all creatures except dogs and men, and they even make this a great end to aim at, killing both ants and serpents and all other creeping and flying things.

Treatment
of the dead.

Ib. 140.

V. TREATMENT OF THE DEAD

Ahura Mazda answered: "Thirty paces from the fire; thirty paces from the water; thirty paces from the consecrated bundles of baresma; thirty paces from the faithful:

On that place they shall dig a grave, half a foot deep if the earth be hard, half the height of a man if it be soft; they shall cover the surface of it with dust of bricks, or of stones, or of dry earth.

The question
is, What
shall be
done with
one who
dies in
winter or in
a storm?

Avesta.

And they shall let the lifeless body lie there for two nights, or three nights, or a month long, until the birds begin to fly, the plants to grow, the floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the waters from off the earth.

He is buried
temporarily
in a dwelling.

And when the birds begin to fly, the plants to grow, the floods to flow, and the wind to dry up the waters from off the earth, then the worshippers of Mazda shall make a

The dead and the living must not pass the same way.

breach in the wall of the house, and they shall call for two men, strong and skilful, and those having stripped their clothing off, shall take the body to the building of clay, stones, and mortar, raised on a place where they know there are always corpse-eating dogs and corpse-eating birds. . . .

Can the way whereupon the carcasses of dogs or the corpses of men have been carried, be passed through again by flocks and herds, by men and women. . . .?

In practice, spots on the face of a dog were considered eyes.

You shall cause the yellow dog with four eyes or the white dog with yellow ears to go three times through that way. When either the yellow dog with four ears or the white dog with yellow ears is brought there, then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, all stained with stains, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras (servants of the Evil One).

The Drug Nasu was a demon representing the impurity of death.

VI. MITHRA

Mithra as worthy as his creator.

Zarathrustra is Zoroaster.

Avesta.

He is god of truth.

Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathrustra, saying: "Verily when I created Mithra, lord of wide pastures, O Spitama, I created him as worthy of sacrifice, as worthy prayer as myself, Ahura Mazda.

The ruffian who lies unto Mithra brings death unto the whole country, injuring the faithful world as much as a hundred evil-doers could do. Break not the contract, O Spitama, neither the one thou hadst entered into with one of the unfaithful, nor the one thou hadst entered into with one of the faithful who is of thine own faith. For Mithra stands for both the faithful and the unfaithful. . . .

As god of light, Mithra sees and hears everything.

We sacrifice unto Mithra, lord of wide pastures, who is truth-speaking, a chief in assemblies, with a thousand

ears well-shapen, with ten thousand eyes, high, with full knowledge, strong, sleepless, and ever awake.

To whom the chiefs of nations offer up sacrifices, as they go to the field against havocking hosts, against enemies coming in battle array, in the strife of conflicting nations.

On whichever side he has been worshipped first in the fulness of faith of a devoted heart, to that side turns Mithra, lord of wide pastures, with the fiend-smiting wind, with the cursing thought of the wise.

He turns the scale of battle.

VII. HEALING

One may heal with Holiness, one may heal with the Law, one may heal with the knife, one may heal with herbs, one may heal with the Holy Word. Amongst all remedies this one is the healing one that heals with the Holy Word; this one it is that will best drive away sickness from the body of the faithful; for this one is the best-healing of all remedies.

Spiritual as well as medicinal healing.

Avesta.

STUDIES

1. Describe the Median kingship. What were the products of the country?
2. What was the extent of the Persian empire? What idea of duty to the empire had Darius? Can we find anything similar in the case of other Oriental kings?
3. Give an account of the accession of Darius.
4. What were the chief features of the religion of the Persians as described by Herodotus? What were their customs at meals? How did they regard other nations? What does he tell us of their family?
5. Describe their burial customs and beliefs.
6. What was the character of Mithra?
7. What means of healing does the Avesta prescribe. What idea of the Persian religion do you derive from these selections from the Avesta?

BOOK II

Hellas

CHAPTER VI

INTRODUCTION TO THE SOURCES

THE main sources for Hellenic history are (1) the literary works of the Greeks themselves, (2) their inscriptions chiefly on stone, (3) letters and other documents on papyri, many of which have recently been found in Egypt, (4) geography, especially valuable for explaining the elements of economic, social, and political life, (5) archæology, a relatively new science, which concerns itself with the material works of men's hands during the remote past. In Botsford's *History of the Ancient World*, archæology is represented by the illustrations; the present volume is limited to written sources. In the study of the latter material we must discriminate between (1) contemporary sources, composed in the period to which they refer, (2) sources later than the period treated. The contemporary writer has the advantage of direct acquaintance with the condition or event or person he describes. His account therefore is always fresher and often more trustworthy than any afterward composed. We must keep in mind, however, that in many cases a later writer is able to take a broader, or more critical, view of a situation, and may in that respect be a more valuable authority. In every instance it is necessary to study the writer in order to determine his worth as a source.

The main
sources.

Criticism of
sources.

For the Cretan and Mycenæan civilizations our chief

**Sources for
the earlier
periods.**

*Ancient
World, 69 ff.*

**The *Iliad*
and the
Odyssey.**

*Ancient
World, 83-5.*

**Seventh and
sixth centu-
ries, B.C.**

materials are archæological. This source we may supplement by a study of traditions and of the survival of religious, social, and political institutions from that age to later time. In such research it is extremely difficult, on many points impossible, to determine what has actually come down from the period under consideration and what was added in later time.

The epic or Homeric age is represented by the two great poems of Homer, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. For the poet himself we have mere traditions so uncertain and conflicting as to lead many scholars to doubt his existence. It seems most probable, however, that Homer was a real person who lived in Asia Minor, either at Smyrna or on the island of Chios, about 800 B.C. The beautiful art and material splendor he describes are in the main a memory from the glorious past, whereas the religious, moral, social, and political atmosphere of his poems is that of his own time and people. Although some scholars are of the opinion that his poems were written, it is more probable that they were for a time handed down orally from generation to generation in schools of minstrels, who found a livelihood by chanting them at the courts of nobles and at public festivals.

From the age of Homer no written material, so far as we know, came down to later time. About 700 B.C., however, some of the more progressive states began to keep lists of magistrates, and a little later to reduce their laws and treaties to writing. Such material proved useful to later historians. Poets of the seventh and sixth centuries, treating of their own personalities and of their surroundings, now wrote out their compositions, which have proved of the highest value for the study of those times.

The earliest of these poets was Hesiod, who lived in

Bœotia about 700 B.C. His *Works and Days* gives us a clearer view of country life than we can find anywhere else in ancient literature. Additional light on rural conditions of early Greece is shed by the poems of Solon, the great Athenian lawgiver of about 600 B.C. Both poets tell of the peasants' hard lot under the oppressive rule of the nobles. The military spirit of the seventh century is well represented by Tyrtaeus of Sparta and Callinus of Ephesus, Ionia. Early in the sixth century lived the two famous lyric poets of Lesbos, Alcæus and Sappho. Their poems afford interesting glimpses of their own character and of the society in which they moved. These names have been taken as representative of a far larger group of seventh and sixth century poets, whose genius dominated the intellectual life of that period and whose extant works, though mere fragments, are, apart from a few short inscriptions, the sole contemporary source for that period.

For the early fifth century we have another great lyric poet, Pindar, whose best work has survived. Though a native of Bœotia, he represents for all Hellas the spirit of the old aristocracy, which was soon to disappear. His poems are in honor of victors at the great national games. A contemporary of Pindar was Æschylus, the first great Attic dramatist. The characters of Attic tragedy are generally mythical persons of the distant past, whereas the ideas ascribed to them are those of the writer's time. Occasionally, however, the poet chooses as his theme a recent event and introduces historical persons. Such is the *Persians* of Æschylus, which presents in dramatic form the invasion of Xerxes and his overthrow at Salamis, whereas the *Prometheus* has to do with mythical characters. A warrior in the mighty struggle for the maintenance of Hellenic freedom, Æschylus chose the divine and the

Hesiod.
Ancient World, 153.

Solon.

Tyrtaeus.
Ancient World, 119, 153.
Alcæus and Sappho.

Pindar.
Ancient World, 154.

Æschylus.
Ib. 213 f.

Sophocles.*Ib.* 214.**Euripides.***Ib.* 241.**Aristophanes.***Ib.***Herodotus,**
about 480-
425 B.C.*Ancient
World*, 215.

The Greek word for "inquiry" is history (*istoria*), here for the first time applied to a department of literature.

heroic for his theme. His younger contemporary Sophocles, living a comfortable, serene life in the age of Pericles, devoted his mind to the ideal human character and to the peaceful compromise of warring religious and moral beliefs. Euripides, who wrote in the latter part of the century, in a period of political and intellectual unrest, deals with human nature as it is. He is intensely modern, endowed with a deep knowledge of human character and a broad, sympathetic spirit—the Shakespeare of Athens. Slightly younger than Euripides was Aristophanes, the greatest master of Greek comedy. Deriving his subjects from contemporary politics and society, he transfigured them with his splendid imagination and his inexhaustible wit.

Contemporary with Sophocles was the earliest Greek historian—Herodotus "the father of history," who wrote an account of the great struggle between the Greeks and the Persians. In tracing the events which led up to it he narrates from the earliest times the history of the various nations involved in the conflict. His work, he informs us, is a presentation of the results of his own inquiry "to the end that neither the deeds of men be forgotten in the lapse of time nor oblivion overtake the great and marvelous achievements of the Hellenes and the barbarians, particularly those which brought about the war." As he was born in the midst of that war, he had the opportunity to learn its history directly from those who had fought in it. This portion of his work is therefore more trustworthy than the earlier parts. The chief value of history lies in the study of characters of individuals and of nations; and in the faithful, sympathetic presentation of human nature, alike of Greeks and foreigners, Herodotus, whether dealing with fact or fiction, is the truest as well as the most attractive of historians.

While Herodotus was putting the last touches to his *History*, and the Peloponnesian War was in its earliest stage, Thucydides in the prime of life was engaged in writing an account of the latter conflict. "Thucydides, an Athenian," he tells us, "wrote the history of the war in which the Peloponnesians and the Athenians fought against one another. He began to write when they first took up arms, believing that it would be great and memorable above any previous war." "Of the events of the war I have not ventured to speak from any chance information, nor according to any notion of my own; I have described nothing but what I either saw myself or learned from others of whom I made the most careful and particular inquiry. The task was a laborious one because eye-witnesses of the same occurrences gave different accounts of them, as they remembered or were interested in the actions of one side or the other. And very likely the strictly historical character of my narrative may be disappointing to the ear. But if he who desires to have before his eyes a true picture of the events which have happened, and of the like events which may be expected to happen hereafter in the order of human things, shall pronounce what I have written to be useful, then I shall be satisfied. My history is an everlasting possession, not a prize composition which is heard and forgotten." In contrast with the popular history of Herodotus, this work was composed for the general and statesman; hence though narrow and special, it is far deeper and more philosophic.

As we pass from the fifth to the fourth century—from Thucydides to Xenophon—we perceive within the historical field a marked decline in style and in intellectual power. Yet Xenophon, as a soldier of fortune and a man of wide experience, gives us invaluable information con-

Thucydides,
about 465(?)–
400.

Ib. 241 f.

Fourth Century: Xenophon, about
430–354 B.C.

*Ancient
World*, 286 f.

cerning the customs and character of Greeks and foreigners of his own age. From this point of view his *Anabasis* will be found especially attractive. His *Hellenica* narrates the political and military events of Greece from 411 to 362 B.C. It is valuable as our only continuous account of that period by a contemporary writer. Among his briefer works are the *Constitution of the Lacedæmonians* and the *Economist*. The former in an idealizing spirit refers the origin of the Lacedæmonian institutions to Lycurgus; the latter, treating of the management of a household, presents a charming picture of private Athenian life.

The orators:
Demosthenes, 384–322 B.C.

Ancient World, 271 f., 287 f.

For the political, economic, and social conditions of the fourth century we find the contemporary orators a valuable source. We have many of their judicial speeches dealing with property, damages, adoptions, and inheritances as well as with crimes. Others, delivered before the popular assembly, have to do with public affairs. The career of Demosthenes as a statesman belongs to the latter half of the century. His greatness lies not only in the perfect mastery of every possible power and resource of oratory, but even more in his championship of local freedom against encroaching imperialism.

Philosophy:
Plato, about 427–347 B.C.
Ib. 288 f.

Aristotle, 384–322 B.C.

While the age was one of political decline, the intellect was coming to maturity in the greatest philosophic writers of the ancient world—Plato and Aristotle. Plato, gifted with a splendid poetic imagination, was an idealist. Though less creative, Aristotle had a genius for system, employed in reducing to scientific order the knowledge accumulated by the ancients down to his own time. The greatest of Plato's works is the *Republic*; second in importance among his political writings is the *Laws*. From the works of Aristotle the student of history will prefer

to acquaint himself with the *Politics*, a masterpiece of political science, and the *Constitution of the Athenians*, the manuscript of which, written on a papyrus, was discovered in Egypt in 1890. With Demosthenes and Aristotle the classical age of Greek literature comes to an end.

In the historical field by far the most eminent post-classical writer was Polybius. He lived during the Roman conquest of Greece, and therefore saw not only his nation's political enslavement but the establishment of Rome as the only great power in the world. His work is a history of Roman expansion in the Mediterranean basin; only by way of introduction or incidental reference does he touch on earlier time. The experiences of mankind since the days of Thucydides gave him a broader view of history and politics. Most of the material for his work he obtained from documents, from personal observation of the topography and resources of the countries treated, and from men who had taken part in the events which he narrates. His interest centres in the motives, causes, and effects of actions. A careful reading of this author is the best possible introduction to the spirit and method of history as we of to-day regard it.

To the age of Cæsar belongs another Greek historian, Diodorus the Sicilian, a writer incomparably inferior to Polybius in ability. His vast *Historical Library* narrates the events of the civilized world from the earliest times to Cæsar's invasion of Britain (54 B.C.). The author shows no judgment in selecting his material or in putting it together; hence the different parts of his work are of unequal merit. He had no conception of the unity of history, and this fault, together with his arrangement of events by years, prevented him from tracing the causes, connections and effects of events,—from being a good historian. His

Later history: Polybius, about 210-120 B.C.

Diodorus, about 90-after 21 B.C.

descriptions of countries and nations, however, are excellent; and in spite of all defects, his work is indispensable, as it is our main source for long periods of ancient history. Of the forty books, we have the first five, the eleventh to the twentieth, and fragments of the other parts.

Nepos,
about 99-24
B.C.

In this age Romans were interesting themselves in writing about Greek men and affairs. Nepos composed biographies, among which we still have the lives of several famous Greek generals; they show him to have been an inferior and untrustworthy writer. In the age of Augustus Pompeius Trogus, a Roman of Gallic birth, wrote in Latin a history of the world down to his own time. Undoubtedly it was more meritorious than the history of Diodorus, though we know it only through a poor abridgment of the second century A.D. by Justin.

**Pompeius,
Trogus.**

Strabo.

His work was
composed under
Augustus
and revised
under Tiber-
ius.

Nearly contemporary with Trogus was Strabo, the geographer. After travelling through many countries and learning much from earlier writers, he composed a description of the known world in seventeen books. He gives useful historical information also regarding many of the places which he mentions. Though he wrote in Greek and had Greek blood in his veins, he was a native of Pontus in Asia Minor, and probably composed his work for the reigning queen of that country.

Plutarch,
about 50-125
A.D.

The most famous Greek writer of the Christian era was Plutarch, the biographer. He was a philosopher and a man of sincere religious convictions, high moral purpose, and lovable character. His parallel *Lives* of Greeks and Romans has probably been read by more persons than any other book by a single author. Although the writer lacks historical training and critical judgment, his biographies are among the most instructive sources for the persons and events of which they treat.

It will suffice to mention three other late Greek writers with the principal work of each. Arrian of Nicomedia wrote the *Anabasis of Alexander*, a military narrative drawn from sources contemporary with the great conqueror. At nearly the same time Pausanias composed his *Guide to Greece*, which treats of the archæology, myths, and to some extent the history of that country. Sometime afterward Diogenes Laertius wrote his *Lives of the Philosophers*, an inaccurate work though full of useful information. The Greek authors who treat mainly of Roman affairs will be mentioned in a later chapter.

Later Greek writers.

Arrian, about 95-175.

Pausanias, d. about 175.

Diogenes Laertius, early third century A.D.

Ch. xxvii.

AUTHORS AND DOCUMENTS

- Æschylus, translated by A. S. Way. Macmillan.
 Alcæus, translated by Easby-Smith. Washington: Lowdermilk.
 Aristophanes, edited and translated by B. B. Rogers. Macmillan.
 —, Select Comedies, translated by J. H. Frere. Morley's Library.
 Aristotle, *Constitution of the Athenians*, translated by the editors.
 —, *Politics*, translated by Jowett. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
 Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, translated by E. J. Chinnock. Macmillan.
 Callinus, translated by the editors.
 Demosthenes, translated by C. R. Kennedy. Macmillan.
 Diodorus the Sicilian, *Historical Library*, translated by Booth (1814).
 Revised by the editors.
 Diogenes Laertius, translated by C. D. Yonge. Macmillan.
 Euripides, translated by E. P. Coleridge. Macmillan.
 Herodotus, translated by G. C. Macaulay. Macmillan. Revised by the editors.
 Hesiod, *Works and Days*, translated by A. W. Mair. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
 Homer, *Iliad*, translated by A. Lang, W. Leaf, and E. Myers. Macmillan.
 —, *Odyssey*, translated by S. H. Butcher and A. Lang. Macmillan.
Inscriptions, Greek, translated by the editors.

- Justin, translated by J. S. Watson. Macmillan.
- Nepos, translated by J. S. Watson (in the same volume with Justin). *Papyri*. *Selections from the Greek Papyri*, edited with translations by G. Milligan. Cambridge: University Press.
- Papyri*, translated by the editors, unless otherwise stated.
- Pausanias, translated by J. G. Frazer. 6 vols. Macmillan.
- Pindar, translated by E. Myers. Macmillan.
- Plato, translated by B. Jowett. Macmillan.
- Plutarch, *Lives*, translated by A. Stewart and G. Long. Macmillan.
- Polybius, translated by E. S. Shuckburgh. Macmillan.
- Sappho, selected translations, edited by Wharton. Chicago: McClurg.
- , new fragments, translated by J. M. Edmonds. *Classical Review*, xxiii (1910). 99-104.
- Sophocles, translated by R. C. Jebb. Cambridge: University Press.
- Strabo, translated by H. C. Hamilton and W. Falconer. Macmillan.
- Thucydides, translated by B. Jowett. Lothrop.
- Tyrtæus, translated by the editors.
- Xenophon, translated by H. G. Dakyns. Macmillan.

CHAPTER VII

THE CRETAN AND MYCENÆAN CIVILIZATIONS

I. RACE: THE CARIANS

THE Carians came to the mainland from the islands; for being of old time subjects of Minos and being called Leleges, they used to dwell in the islands, paying no tribute, so far back as I am able to arrive by hearsay; but whenever Minos required it, they used to supply his ships with seamen: and as Minos subdued much land and was fortunate in his fighting, the Carian nation was of all nations much the most famous at that time together with him. And they produced three inventions of which the Hellenes adopted the use; that is to say, the Carians were those who first set the fashion of fastening crests on helmets, and of making the devices which are put upon shields, and these also were the first who made handles for their shields, whereas up to that time all who were wont to use shields carried them without handles and with leathern straps to guide them, having them hung about their necks and their left shoulders. Then after the lapse of a long time the Dorians and Ionians drove the Carians out of the islands, and so they came to the mainland.

Subjects of
Minos.

Herodotus i.
171.

*Ancient
World*, 94.

II. MINOS

They say that many generations after the birth of the gods many heroes arose in Crete, the most illustrious of whom were Minos and Rhadamanthys and Sarpedon,

His kingdom; his
legislation
and naval
power.

78 The Cretan and Mycenæan Civilizations

Diodorus v.
78.

who they say were the sons of Zeus and Agenor's sister Europa. She, the story goes, had by a device of the gods been carried off on a bull's back to Crete. Minos as the eldest was king of the island, in which he planted no few cities, the most famous among them being Cnossus in the part which inclines toward Asia, Phæstus on the southern coast, and Cydonia in the western regions opposite Peloponnesus. He enacted for the Cretans many laws, pretending to receive them from his father Zeus and to hold converse with him in a certain cave. It is said, too, that he acquired a great naval power, conquered most of the islands and was the first Greek to establish an empire at sea. After winning great repute for bravery and justice, he ended his life in Sicily in an expedition against Cocalus.

Results of
his naval
supremacy.

Thucydides
i. 8.

After Minos had established a navy, communication by sea became more general. For after he had expelled the pirates, when he colonized the greater part of the islands, the dwellers on the sea-coast began to grow richer and to live in a more settled manner; and some of them, finding their wealth increase beyond their expectations, surrounded their towns with walls. The love of gain made the weaker willing to serve the stronger, and the command of wealth enabled the more powerful to subjugate the lesser cities. This was the state of society which was beginning to prevail at the time of the Trojan War.

III. GREEK MIGRATIONS

The primi-
tive Greeks.

Thucydides
i. 2.

*Ancient
World*, 73 f.

The country which is now called Hellas was not regularly settled in ancient times. The people were migratory, and readily left their homes when they were overpowered by numbers. There was no commerce, and they could not safely hold intercourse with one another by land or

sea. The several tribes cultivated their own soil just enough to obtain a living from it. But they had no accumulation of wealth, and did not plant the ground; for being without walls, they were never sure that an invader might not come and despoil them. Living in this manner and knowing that they could anywhere obtain a bare subsistence, they were always ready to migrate; so that they had neither great cities nor any considerable resources.

The richest districts were most constantly changing their inhabitants; for example, the countries which are now called Thessaly and Bœotia, the greater part of the Peloponnesus with the exception of Arcadia, and all the best districts of Hellas. For the productiveness of the land increased the power of individuals; this in turn was a source of quarrels by which communities were ruined, while at the same time they were exposed to attacks from without. Certainly Attica, of which the soil was poor and thin, enjoyed a long freedom from civil strife, and therefore retained its original inhabitants. And a striking confirmation of my argument is afforded by the fact that Attica through immigration increased in population more than any other region. For the leading men of Hellas, when driven out of their own country by war or revolution, sought an asylum in Athens; and from the very earliest times, being admitted to the rights of citizenship, so greatly increased the number of inhabitants that Attica became incapable of containing them, and was at last obliged to send out colonies to Ionia.

The effect of increasing wealth.

STUDIES

1. What were the relations of the Carians to Minos? How did they serve him? What inventions are ascribed to them?

80 The Cretan and Mycenæan Civilizations

2. What achievements of Minos are here mentioned? Does he seem a myth or a real king? What economic effect had his naval supremacy?

3. Describe the primitive condition of the Hellenes. Why were they at first migratory? Why were the richest districts most unsettled? Which were the richest countries? What was the condition of Attica and its inhabitants? What policy did the early Athenians adopt with reference to immigrants? Who wrote these selections, and from what source did they obtain their information? What, therefore, is the value of their statements?

CHAPTER VIII

THE EPIC OR HOMERIC AGE

I. THE SHIELD OF ACHILLES

Achilles, son of the goddess Thetis, was the most valiant of all the heroes who took part in the Trojan War; *Ancient World*, 95 f. After he had quarrelled with Agamemnon, leader of the expedition, and had become reconciled, Hephæstus, the artisan god, forged for him a splendid suit of armor. The following passage tells how Hephæstus made and decorated the shield. The chief value of the extract lies, not only in the artist's work known to Homer, but even more in the pictures of life which covered the shield—the marriage festival, the trial, the siege and ambush, plowing, reaping, the vintage, the herdsmen protecting their flocks from lions, the youths and maidens dancing. Homer, *Iliad*, xviii. 478-607.

FIRST fashioned he a shield great and strong, adorning it all over, and set thereto a shining rim, triple, bright-glancing, and therefrom a silver baldrick. Five were the folds of the shield itself; and therein fashioned he much cunning work from his wise heart. . . .

Hephæstus fashions the shield.

Iliad xviii.
478 ff.

a. Also he fashioned therein two fair cities of mortal men. In the one were espousals and marriage feasts, and beneath the blaze of torches they were leading the brides from their chambers through the city, and loud arose the bridal song. And young men were whirling in the dance, and among them flutes and viols sounded high; and the women standing each at her door were marvelling. But the folk were gathered in the assembly place; for there a strife was arisen, two men striving about the blood-price of a man slain; the one claimed to pay full atonement,

Marriage.

Homeric age;
Greece, 10-17;
Ancient World, 83-5.

A trial.

expounding to the people, but the other denied him and would take naught; and both were fain to receive judgment at the hands of an arbiter. And the folk were cheering both, as they took part on either side. And heralds kept order among the folk, while the elders on polished stones were sitting in the sacred circle, and holding in their hands staves from the loud-voiced heralds. Then before the people they rose up and gave judgment each in turn. And in the midst lay two talents of gold, to be given unto him who should plead among them most righteously.

The talent here mentioned was a small weight.

A siege.

But around the other city were two armies in siege with glittering arms. And two counsels found favor among them, either to sack the town or to share all with the town-folk even whatsoever substance the fair city held within. But the besieged were not yet yielding, but arming for an ambushment. On the wall there stood to guard it their dear wives and infant children, and with these the old men; but the rest went forth, and their leaders were Ares and Pallas Athena, both wrought in gold, and golden was the vesture they had on. Goodly and great were they in their armor, even as gods, far seen around, and the folk at their feet were smaller.

An ambush.

And when they came where it seemed good to them to lay ambush, in a river bed where there was a common watering-place of herds, there they set them, clad in glittering bronze. And two scouts were posted by them afar off to spy the coming of flocks and of oxen with crooked horns. And presently came the cattle, and with them two herdsmen playing on pipes, that took no thought of the guile. Then the others when they beheld these ran upon them and quickly cut off the herds of oxen and fair flocks of white sheep, and slew the shepherds withal. But the besiegers as they sat before the speech-places and heard

much din among the oxen, mounted forthwith behind their high-stepping horses, and came up with speed. Then they arrayed their battle and fought beside the river banks, and smote one another with bronze-shod spears. And among them mingled Strife and Tumult, and fell Death, grasping one man alive fresh-wounded, another without wound, and dragging another dead through the mellay by the feet; and the raiment on her shoulders was red with the blood of men. Like living mortals they hurled together and fought, and haled the corpses each of the other's slain.

b. Furthermore he set in the shield a soft fresh-plowed field, rich tilth and wide, the third time plowed; and many plowers therein drave their yokes to and fro as they wheeled about. Whensoever they came to the boundary of the field and turned, then would a man come to each and give into his hands a goblet of sweet wine, while others would be turning back along the furrows, fain to reach the boundary of the deep tilth. And the field grew black behind and seemed as it were a-plowing, albeit of gold, for this was the great marvel of the work. **Plowing.**

Furthermore he set therein the domain-land of a king, where hinds were reaping with sharp sickles in their hands. Some armfuls along the swathe were falling in rows to the earth, whilst others the sheaf-binders were binding in twisted bands of straw. Three sheaf-binders stood over them, while behind boys gathering corn and bearing it in their arms gave it constantly to the binders; and among them the king in silence was standing at the swathe with his staff, rejoicing in his heart. And henchmen apart beneath an oak were making ready a feast, and preparing a great ox they had sacrificed; while the women were strewing much white barley to be a supper for the hinds. **Reaping.**

Vintage.

Also he set therein a vineyard teeming plenteously with clusters, wrought fair in gold; black were the grapes, but the vines hung throughout on silver poles. And around it he ran a ditch of cyanus, and round that a fence of tin; and one single pathway led to it, whereby the vintagers might go when they should gather the vintage. And maidens and striplings in childish glee bare the sweet fruit in plaited baskets. And in the midst of them a boy made pleasant music on a clear-toned viol, and sang thereto a sweet Linos-song with delicate voice; while the rest with feet falling together kept time with the music and song.

Grazing.

c. Also he wrought therein a herd of kine with upright horns, and the kine were fashioned of gold and tin, and with lowing they hurried from the yard to pasture beside a murmuring river, beside the waving reed. And herdsmen of gold were following with the kine, four of them, and nine dogs fleet of foot came after them. But two terrible lions among the foremost kine had seized a loud-roaring bull that bellowed mightily as they haled him, and the dogs and the young men sped after him. The lions rending the great bull's hide were devouring his vitals and his black blood; while the herdsmen in vain tarred on their fleet dogs to set them on, for they shrank from biting the lions but stood hard by and barked and swerved away.

Also the glorious lame god wrought therein a pasture in a fair glen, a great pasture of white sheep, and a stead-ing, and roofed huts, and folds.

Dancing.

Also did the glorious lame god devise a dancing-place like unto that which once in wide Cnossus Daidalus wrought for Ariadne of the lovely tresses. There were youths dancing and maidens of costly wooing, their hands upon one another's wrists. Fine linen the maidens had

on, and the youths well-woven doublets faintly glistening with oil. Fair wreaths had the maidens, and the youths daggers of gold hanging from silver baldrics. And now would they run round with deft feet exceeding lightly, as when a potter sitting by his wheel that fitteth between his hands maketh trial of it whether it run: and now anon they would run in lines to meet each other. And a great company stood round the lovely dance in joy; and among them a divine minstrel was making music on his lyre, and through the midst of them, leading the measure, two tumblers whirled.

II. THE PALACE OF ALCINOUS

The hero Odysseus, returning home from Troy, after its capture and destruction, wandered far and wide, driven about by the sea-god Poseidon, who was angry with him; *Ancient World*, 96. In these travels he was ship-wrecked upon the island of the Phæacians. Received hospitably by Nausicaa, a princess of these people, he came to the palace of her father, King Alcinous. Especially interesting is the description of the palace and its inmates and of the garden in the great front court. Homer, *Odyssey*, vii. 81-132.

Meanwhile Odysseus went to the famous palace of Alcinous, and his heart was full of many thoughts as he stood there or ever he had reached the threshold of bronze. For there was a gleam as it were of sun and moon through the high-roofed hall of great-hearted Alcinous. Brazen were the walls that ran this way and that from the threshold to the inmost chamber, and round them was a frieze of blue, and golden were the doors that closed in the good house. Silver were the door-posts that were set on the brazen threshold, and silver the lintel thereupon, and the hook of the door was of gold. And on either side stood golden hounds and silver, which Hephæstus wrought with

Interior
decorations.

Odyssey vii.
81 ff.

Greece, 5-7.

his cunning, to guard the palace of great-hearted Alcinous, being free from death and age all their days.

The chief-
tains.

And within were seats arrayed against the wall this way and that, from the threshold to the inmost chamber, and thereon were spread light coverings finely woven, the handiwork of women. There the Phæacian chieftains were wont to sit eating and drinking, for they had continual store. Yea, and there were youths fashioned in gold, standing on firm-set bases, with flaming torches in their hands, giving light through the night to the feasters in the palace. And he had fifty handmaids in the house, and some grind the yellow grain on the millstone, and others weave webs and turn the yarn as they sit, restless as the leaves of the tall poplar tree; and the soft olive oil drops off that linen, so closely is it woven. For as the Phæacian men are skilled beyond all others in driving a swift ship upon the deep, even so are the women the most cunning at the loom, for Athena hath given them notable wisdom in all fair handiwork and cunning wit.

The maid-
servants.

And without the courtyard, hard by the door, is a great garden, of four plowgates, and a hedge runs round on either side. And there grow tall trees blossoming, pear trees and pomegranates, and apple trees with bright fruit, and sweet figs and olives in their bloom. The fruit of these trees never perisheth, neither faileth, winter or summer, enduring through all the year. Evermore the West Wind blowing brings some fruits to birth and ripens others. Pear upon pear waxes old, and apple upon apple, yea, and cluster ripens upon cluster of the grape and fig upon fig. There, too, hath he a fruitful vineyard planted, whereof the one part is being dried by the heat, a sunny plot on level ground, while other grapes men are gathering, and yet others they are treading in the wine-press. In the fore-

The court-
yard.

most row are unripe grapes that cast the blossom, and others there be that are growing black to vintaging. There, too, skirting the furthest line, are all manner of garden beds, planted trimly, that are perpetually fresh, and therein are two fountains of water, whereof one scatters his streams all about the garden, and the other runs over against it beneath the threshold of the courtyard, and issues by the lofty house, and thence did the townsfolk draw water. These were the splendid gifts of the gods in the palace of Alcinous.

STUDIES

1. a. What features of the marriage are here mentioned? Over what was the trial? Who were the judges, and what part had the people? What function did the heralds perform? Describe the siege. What alternative plans had the besiegers in mind? What part did the gods take in the conflict? b. Describe the plowing scene; the reaping; the vintage; the preparation of food for the laborers. c. What do you infer from the presence of lions as to the condition of the country? What skilled industry is mentioned? Enumerate all the occupations pictured on the "Shield." What do you infer from this list as to the civilization of the country? Name all the metals used in composing the "Shield."

2. What features of the palace seem to be Mycenæan? Who were its occupants? Describe the work of the maidservants. Where was the garden, and what were its fruits? How was it watered? Combining these selections from Homer with pages 83-5 of the *Ancient World*, write as full an account as possible of Homeric life.

CHAPTER IX

MYTH AND RELIGION

I. THE GODS

Aphrodite. To Aphrodite he (Zeus) committed the care of the mature age of girls; at which time they ought to marry, and the oversight of other things used at nuptials.

Diodorus v.
73-5.

*Ancient
World*, 86 ff.

The Graces. To the Graces was granted power to beautify the face, and to give a comely shape and proportion to all the members of the body, . . . and to cause the persons to be grateful and thankful for what they received. . . .

Athena. To Athena he committed the care of olive yards, and the planting of olive trees, and the extraction of the oil: for before the birth of this goddess, this tree grew wild, disregarded among the trees of the wood, the use and culture of it, as is now practiced, not then being known.

The making of garments likewise and architecture and many other arts were revealed to men by this goddess. She invented pipes and wind-music and many ingenious tools and instruments for handicrafts; whence she was called Ergane.

The Muses. To the Muses their father allotted the invention of letters and the composing of verses, called poetry. . . .

Hephæstus. Hephæstus, they say, found out the working of iron, brass, silver, and gold, and all other metals that require forging by fire; and that the general use of fire in all other cases, was found out by him, and discovered not only to artificers, but to all other men; and therefore all the masters of these arts pay their devotions, and offer their

sacrifices chiefly to this god; both they and all others call fire Hephæstus, to the end that this great good bestowed upon mankind might be forever remembered, to his eternal honor and praise.

Ares, they say, first taught the making of all sorts of weapons, and how to furnish soldiers both with offensive and defensive arms, and to fight with courage and resolution, destroying them all that were enemies to the gods. **Ares.**

To Apollo is attributed the invention of the harp, and that sort of music; and it is said, he discovered the art of medicine, which is practiced by revelation from him, by which the sick were commonly restored to health: he found out likewise the use of the bow, and taught the inhabitants to shoot; and therefore the Cretans delight much in shooting, and call the bow Scythicus. **Apollo.**

To Hermes they attribute the invention of messages in times of war by trumpets and heralds, of truces and leagues; and as a sign they were sent to treat with the enemy they carried a rod before them; and therefore were suffered safely to come and go. Hence they were called the common Hermes, because both sides in the war enjoyed the common benefit of peace. **Hermes.**

They say, he was the first that invented weights and measures, and the acquisition of wealth by merchandise, and the way of cheating and cozening of others. He was accounted the herald of the gods, and the best messenger, because he was quick and ingenious in declaring particularly everything he had in command. Whence he was called Hermes.

II. ODYSSEUS VISITS THE REALM OF HADES

In his wanderings Odysseus sailed into Oceanus, the stream that girdles the earth. On its farther side he landed on the shore of Erebus,

the country over which Hades rules. He himself tells how he communicated with certain spirits of the dead. From the passage we learn the view of the future life held by the Greeks of Homer's time. Homer, *Odyssey*, xi. 34-223.

Odysseus
prepares to
speak with
the spirits of
the dead.

Odyssey xi.
34 ff.

Persephone,
wife of Hades.

Elpenor.

Left un-
buried.

a. But when I had besought the tribes of the dead with vows and prayers, I took the sheep and cut their throats over the trench, and the dark blood flowed forth, and lo, the spirits of the dead that be departed gathered them from out of Erebus. Brides and youths unwed, and old men of many and evil days, and tender maidens with grief yet fresh at heart; and many there were, wounded with bronze-shod spears, men slain in fight with their bloody mail about them. And these many ghosts flocked together from every side of the trench with a wondrous cry, and pale fear gat hold on me. Then did I speak to my company and command them to flay the sheep that lay slain by the pitiless sword, and to consume them with fire, and to make prayer to the gods, to mighty Hades and to dread Persephone, and I myself drew the sharp sword from my thigh and sat there, suffering not the strengthless heads of the dead to draw nigh to the blood, ere I had word of Teiresias.

And first came the soul of Elpenor my companion, that had not yet been buried beneath the wide-wayed earth; for we left the corpse behind us in the hall of Circe, unwept and unburied, seeing that another task was instant upon us. At the sight of him I wept and had compassion on him, and uttering my voice spake to him winged words: "Elpenor, how hast thou come beneath the darkness and the shadow? Thou hast come fleeter on foot than I in my black ship."

So spake I, and with a moan he answered me, saying: "Son of Laertes, of the seed of Zeus, Odysseus of many

devices, an evil doom of some god was my bane and wine out of measure. When I laid me down on the housetop of Circe, I minded me not to descend again by the way of the tall ladder, but fell right down from the roof, and my neck was broken off from the bones of my spine, and my spirit went down to the house of Hades. And now I pray thee in the name of those whom we left, who are no more with us, thy wife, and thy sire who cherished thee when as yet thou wert a little one, and Telemachus, whom thou didst leave in thy halls alone; forasmuch as I know that on thy way hence from out the dwelling of Hades, thou wilt stay thy well-wrought ship at the isle of *Ææan*, even then, my lord, I charge thee to think on me. Leave me not unwept and unburied as thou goest hence, nor turn thy back upon me, lest haply I bring upon thee the anger of the gods. Nay, burn me with mine armor; all that is mine, and pile me a barrow on the shore of the grey sea, the grave of a luckless man, that even men unborn may hear my story. Fulfil me this and plant upon the barrow mine oar, wherewith I rowed in the days of my life, while I was yet among my fellows."

Even so he spake, and I answered him saying: "All this, luckless man, will I perform for thee and do."

Even so we twain were sitting holding sad discourse, I on the one side, stretching forth my sword over the blood, while on the other side the ghost of my friend told all his tale.

b. Anon came up the soul of my mother dead, Anticleia, the daughter of Autolycus, the great-hearted, whom I left alive when I departed for sacred Ilios. At the sight of her I wept and was moved with compassion, yet even so, for all my sore grief, I suffered her not to draw nigh to the blood, ere I had word of Teiresias. . . .

Anticleia,
mother of
Odysseus.

So spake I, and anon he answered me and said: "I will tell thee an easy saying, and will put it in thy heart. Whomsoever of the dead that be departed thou shalt suffer to draw nigh to the blood, he shall tell thee sooth; but if thou shalt grudge any, that one shall go to his own place again." Therewith the spirit of the prince Teiresias went back within the house of Hades, when he had told all his oracles. But I abode there steadfastly, till my mother drew nigh and drank the dark blood; and at once she knew me, and bemoaning herself spake to me winged words:

"Dear child, how didst thou come beneath the darkness and the shadow, thou that art a living man? Grievous is the sight of these things to the living, for between us and you are great rivers and dreadful streams; first, Oceanus, which can no wise be crossed on foot, but only if one have a well-wrought ship. Art thou but now come hither with thy ship and thy company in thy long wanderings from Troy? and hast thou not yet reached Ithaca, nor seen thy wife in thy halls?"

Why Odysseus came to the realm of Hades.

Even so she spake, and I answered her, and said: "O my mother, necessity was on me to come down to the house of Hades to seek the spirit of Theban Teiresias. For not yet have I drawn near to the Achæan shore, nor yet have I set foot on mine own country, but have been wandering evermore in affliction, from the day that first I went with goodly Agamemnon to Ilios of the fair steeds, to do battle with the Trojans. But come, declare me this and plainly tell it all. What doom overcame thee of death that lays men at their length? Was it a slow disease, or did Artemis the archer slay thee with the visitation of her gentle shafts? And tell me of my father and my son, that I left behind me; doth my honor yet abide with them, or hath another already taken it while they say that I shall come home no

more? And tell me of my wedded wife, of her counsel and her purpose, doth she abide with her son and keep all secure, or hath she already wedded the best of the Achæans?"

Even so I spake, and anon my lady mother answered me: "Yea verily, she abideth with steadfast spirit in thy halls; and wearily for her the nights wane always and the days in shedding of tears. But the fair honor that is thine no man hath yet taken; but Telemachus sits at peace on his domain, and feasts at equal banquets, whereof it is meet that a judge partake, for all men bid him to their house. And thy father abides there in the field, and goes not down to the town, nor lies he on bedding or rugs or shining blankets, but all the winter he sleeps, where sleep the thralls in the house, in the ashes by the fire, and is clad in sorry raiment. But when the summer comes and the rich harvest-tide, his beds of fallen leaves are strewn lowly all about the knoll of his vineyard plot. There he lies sorrowing and nurses his mighty grief, for long desire of thy return, and old age withal comes heavy upon him. Yea and even so did I too perish and meet my doom. It was not the archer goddess of the keen sight, who slew me in my halls with the visitation of her gentle shafts, nor did any sickness come upon me, such as chiefly with a sad wasting draws the spirit from the limbs; nay, it was my sore longing for thee, and for thy counsels, great Odysseus, and for thy loving-kindness, that reft me of sweet life."

**His family
at home.**

So spake she, and I mused in my heart and would fain have embraced the spirit of my mother dead. Thrice I sprang toward her, and was minded to embrace her; thrice she flitted from my hands as a shadow or even as a dream, and grief waxed ever the sharper at my

**Parting with
his mother.**

heart. And uttering my voice I spake to her winged words:

"Mother mine, wherefore dost thou not abide me who am eager to clasp thee, that even in Hades we twain may cast our arms each about the other, and have our fill of chill lament? Is this but a phantom that the high goddess Persephone hath sent me, to the end that I may groan for more exceeding sorrow?"

So spake I, and my lady mother answered me anon: "Ah me, my child, of all men most ill-fated, Persephone, the daughter of Zeus, doth in no wise deceive thee, but even on this wise it is with mortals when they die. For the sinews no more bind together the flesh and the bones, but the great force of burning fire abolishes these, so soon as the life hath left the white bones, and the spirit like a dream flies forth and hovers near. But haste with all thine heart toward the sunlight and mark all this, that even hereafter thou mayest tell it to thy wife."

III. THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO AT DELPHI AND THE AMPHICTYONY

The Treasure-Houses.

Strabo ix. 3. 4.

It is to be noticed that Strabo completed his work about 18 A.D. He is therefore speaking of a time centuries before his own.

The Oracle.

Ib. 5.

The temple of Apollo is now much neglected, although formerly it was held in the greatest reverence. Proofs of the respect which were paid to it are the treasures, built at the expense of communities and princes, where was deposited the wealth dedicated to sacred uses, the works of the most eminent artists, the Pythian games, and a vast number of recorded oracles.

The place where the oracle is delivered is said to be a deep hollow cavern, the entrance to which is not very wide. From it rises up an exhalation which inspires a divine frenzy: over the mouth is placed a lofty tripod on which the Pythian priestess ascends to receive the exhalation,

after which she gives the prophetic response in verse or prose. The prose is adapted to metre by poets who are in the service of the temple. . . .

Although the highest honor was paid to this temple on account of this oracle, as the freest of all from deception, yet its reputation was owing in part to its situation in the centre of all Greece, both within and without the Isthmus. It was also supposed to be the centre of the habitable earth. . . .

As the situation of Delphi is convenient, persons easily assembled there, particularly those from the neighborhood, of whom the Amphictyonic body is composed. It is the business of this body to deliberate on public affairs, and to it is more particularly intrusted the guardianship of the temple for the common good; for large sums of money were deposited there, and votive offerings, which required great vigilance and religious care. The early history of this body is unknown, but among the names which are recorded, Acrisius appears to have been the first who regulated its constitution, to have determined what cities were to have votes in the council, and to have assigned the number of votes and mode of voting. To some cities he gave a single vote each, or a vote to two cities, or to several cities conjointly. He also defined the class of questions which might arise between the different cities, which were to be submitted to the decision of the Amphictyonic tribunal; and subsequently many other regulations were made, but this federation like that of the Achæans, was finally dissolved.

At first twelve cities are said to have assembled, each of which sent a Pylagoras. The convention was held twice a year, in spring and autumn. But latterly a greater number of cities assembled. They called both the vernal and the

Ib. 6.

The Amphictyony.

Ib. 7.

Time and place of assembly.

autumnal convention Pylæan, because it was held at Pylæ, which has the name also of Thermopylæ. The Pylagoræ sacrificed to Demeter. In the beginning, only the persons in the neighborhood assembled, or consulted the oracle, but afterwards people repaired thither from a distance for this purpose, sent gifts, and constructed treasuries, as Cræsus, and his father Alyattes, some of the Italians also, and the Sicilians.

STUDIES

1. Enumerate the deities mentioned in this selection, with the functions of each. What are the Roman equivalents? What must have been the mental condition of men which created these ideas of the gods?

2. a. What classes of people did Odysseus find in the home of the dead? What means had he of restoring their spirits to consciousness? What was the normal state of their minds? What was the peculiar condition of Elpenor? What was necessary to give his spirit peace?
b. What information did Odysseus' mother give him concerning his family at home? Did the dead, then, know what was going on in this world? What was the condition of his family? How, as his mother explains, does the spirit separate itself from the body?

3. What were the Delphic treasure-houses? By what means did Apollo give his oracles? Why did this oracle become the most important in Hellas? Describe the organization of the amphictyony. Who were the Pylagoræ? Mention all the authors represented in this chapter and the source of information of each. What is the historical value of each selection?

CHAPTER X

THE CITY-STATE AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

I. FAMILY, VILLAGE, AND STATE

THE family is the association established by nature for the supply of men's everyday wants, and the members of it are called by Charondas "companions of the cupboard" and by Epimenides the Cretan, "companions of the manger." But when several families are united, and the association aims at something more than the supply of daily needs, then comes into existence the village. And the most natural form of the village appears to be that of a colony from the family, composed of the children and grandchildren, who are said to be "nourished with the same milk." And this is the reason why Hellenic states were originally governed by kings; because the Hellenes were under royal rule before they came together, as the barbarians still are. Every family is ruled by the eldest, and therefore in the colonies of the family the kingly form of government prevailed because they were of the same blood. . . .

When several villages are united in a single community, perfect and large enough to be nearly or quite self-sufficing, the state comes into existence, originating in the bare needs of life, and continuing in existence for the sake of a good life.

The family.

Aristotle,
Politics, i. 2.

*Ancient
World*, 98-
104.

The village.

**The City-
State** (polis).

98 The City-State and Its Development

II. THE FOUNDING OF A CITY

Situation.

Aristotle,
Politics, vii.
11.

In respect of the place itself our wish would be to find a situation for it, fortunate in four things. The first, health; this is a necessity: cities which lie toward the east and are blown upon by winds coming from the east, are the healthiest; next in healthfulness are those which are sheltered from the north wind, for they have a milder winter. The site of the city should likewise be convenient for political administration and for war. With a view to the latter it should afford easy egress to the citizens, and at the same time be inaccessible and difficult of capture to enemies. There should be a natural abundance of springs and fountains in the town; or, if there is a deficiency of them, great reservoirs may be established for the collection of rain-water, such as will not fail when the inhabitants are cut off from the country by war. Special care should be taken of the health of the inhabitants, which will depend chiefly on the healthiness of the locality and of the quarter to which they are exposed, and secondly, on the use of pure water; this latter point is by no means a secondary consideration. For the elements which we use most and oftenest for the support of the body contribute most to health, and among these are water and air. Wherefore in all wise states, if there is a want of pure water and the supply is not all equally good, the drinking water ought to be separated from that which is used for other purposes. . . .

Arrange-
ment of
houses in
streets.

The arrangement of private houses is considered to be more agreeable and generally more convenient, if the streets are regularly laid out after the modern fashion which Hippodamus introduced, but for security in war the antiquated mode of building, which made it difficult

for strangers to get out of a town and for assailants to find their way in, is preferable. A city should therefore adopt both plans of building; it is possible to arrange the houses irregularly, as husbandmen plant their vines in what are called "clumps." The whole town should not be laid out in straight lines, but only certain quarters and regions; thus security and beauty will be combined. . . .

III. POPULATION AND TERRITORY SHOULD BE LIMITED

A state, then, only begins to exist when it has attained a population sufficient for a good life in the political community; it may indeed somewhat exceed this number. But, as I was saying, there must be a limit. What should be the limit will be easily ascertained by experience. For both governors and governed have duties to perform; the special functions of a governor are to command and to judge. But if the citizens of a state are to judge and distribute offices according to merit, then they must know each other's characters; where they do not possess this knowledge, both the election to offices and the decision of lawsuits will go wrong. When the population is very large, these things are manifestly settled at haphazard, which clearly ought not to be. Besides, in an overpopulous state foreigners and metics will readily acquire the rights of citizens, for who will find them out? Clearly then the best limit of the population of a state is the largest number which suffices for the purposes of life, and can be taken in at a single view. Enough concerning the size of a city.

What should
be the limit?

Aristotle,
Politics, vii.
4 f.

Much the same principle will apply to the territory of the state; every one would agree in praising the state which is most entirely self-sufficing; and that must be the state which is all producing, for to have all things, and to want nothing is sufficiency. In size and extent it should

Self-
sufficing.

be such as may enable the inhabitants to live temperately and liberally in the enjoyment of leisure. . . .

IV. FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

Three true
forms of
government.

Aristotle,
Politics, iii. 7.

We have next to consider how many forms of government there are, and what they are; and in the first place what are the true forms; for what they are determines the perversions of them, as will at once be apparent. The words constitution and government have the same meaning, and the government which is the supreme authority in states, must be in the hands of one or of a few or of many. The true forms of government therefore are those in which the one, or the few, or the many govern with a view to the common interest; but governments which rule with a view to the private interest, whether of the one, or of the few, or of the many, are perversions. For citizens, if they are truly citizens, ought to participate in the advantages of a state. Of forms of government in which one rules, we call that which regards the common interests, kingship or royalty; that in which more than one but not many, rule, aristocracy ("the rule of the best"); and it is so called, either because the rulers are the best men, or because they have at heart the best interests of the state and of the citizens. But when the citizens at large administer the state for the common interest, the government is called by the generic name—a constitution. And there is a reason for this use of language. One man or a few may excel in virtue; but of virtue there are many kinds; and as the number increases, it becomes more difficult for them to attain perfection in every kind, though they may in military virtue, for this is found in the masses. Hence, in a constitutional government the fighting men

have the supreme power, and those who possess arms are the citizens.

Of the above-mentioned forms, the perversions are as follows:—of royalty, tyranny; of aristocracy, oligarchy; of constitutional government, democracy. For tyranny is a kind of monarchy which has in view the interest of the monarch only; oligarchy has in view the interest of the wealthy; democracy of the needy; none of them the common good of all.

Three per-
verted
forms.

The first governments were kingships; probably for this reason, because of old, when cities were small, men of eminent virtue were few. They were made kings because they were benefactors, and benefits can only be bestowed by good men. But when many persons equal in merit arose, no longer enduring the pre-eminence of one, they desired to have a commonwealth, and set up a constitution. The ruling class soon deteriorated and enriched themselves out of the public treasury; riches became the path to honor, and so oligarchies naturally grew up. These passed into tyrannies and tyrannies into democracies; for love of gain in the ruling classes was always tending to diminish their number, and so to strengthen the masses, who in the end set upon their masters and established democracies. Since cities have increased in size, no other form of government appears to be any longer possible.

Evolution of
government.

Aristotle,
Politics,
iii. 15.

STUDIES

1. What is a family, and what is a village? What form of government had the village and why? How did the state arise?
2. What are the four essentials in the situation of a city? How may they be secured? What were the two modes of arranging the houses in streets, and their relative merits?
3. What limit should there be to the extent and population of a city-state? What would Aristotle think of our state?

102 The City-State and Its Development

4. Name and define the true forms of government; the perverted forms. How does an oligarchy differ from an aristocracy? What objection has Aristotle to democracy? Trace the evolution of the various forms of government. When did Aristotle live, and what is the value of his *Politics*?

CHAPTER XI

ECONOMY AND COLONIZATION

I. FARMING

GET a house first and a woman and a plowing ox; and get all gear arrayed within the house, lest thou beg of another and he deny thee and thou go lacking, and the season pass by and thy work be minished. Neither put off till the morrow nor the day after. The idle man filleth not his barn, neither he that putteth off. Diligence prospereth work, but the man that putteth off ever wrestleth with ruin.

**Prepara-
tions for
small farm-
ing.**

Hesiod,
*Works and
Days.*

And bring thou home a plowbeam, when thou findest it by search on hill or in field—of holm oak: for this is the strongest to plow with, when Athena's servant fasteneth it in the share-beam and fixeth it with dowels to the pole. Get thee two plows, fashioning them at home, one of the natural wood, the other jointed, since it is far better to do so. Hence if thou break the one, thou canst yoke the oxen to the other. Freest of worms are poles of bay or elm. Get thee then share-beam of oak, plow-beam of holm, and two oxen of nine years. For the strength of such is not weak in the fulness of their age; they are best for work. They will not quarrel in the furrow and break the plow, and leave their work undone. And with them let a man of forty follow, his dinner a loaf of four quarters, eight pieces, who will mind his work and drive a straight furrow, no more gaping after his fellows, but having his heart on his task. Than he no younger man is better at

Plows.

Evidently
the writer
here has in
mind a larger
farm.

sowing. For the mind of a younger man is fluttered after his age-fellows. . . . And let a young slave follow behind with a mattock and cause trouble to the birds by covering up the seed. . . .

Winter
occupation.

But pass by the smith's forge and the crowded club-house in the winter season when cold constraineth men from work, wherein a diligent man would greatly prosper his house, lest the helplessness of evil winter overtake thee with poverty, and thou press a swollen foot with lean hand. But the idle man who waiteth on empty hope, for lack of livelihood garnereth many sorrows for his soul. Hope is a poor companion for a man in need, who sitteth in a club-house when he hath no livelihood secured. Nay, declare thou to thy thralls while it is still midsummer: It will not be summer always; build ye cabins. . . .

Winter
clothing.

In that season (winter) do thou for the defence of thy body array thee as I bid thee in soft cloak and full-length tunic, and twine much woof in a scanty warp. . . . About thy feet bind fitting sandals of the hide of a slaughtered ox, covering them with felt. And when the frost cometh in its season, sew thou together with thread of ox-thong the skins of firstling kids to put about thy back as a shield against the rain. And on thy head wear thou a cap of wrought felt, that thou mayest not have thy ears wetted. For chill is the dawn at the onset of Boreas. . . .

Threshing
and after.

But so soon as the strength of Orion appeareth, urge thy thralls to thresh the holy grain of Demeter in a windy place and on a rounded floor; measure and store it in vessels; and when thou hast laid up all thy livelihood within thy house, then I bid thee get a thrall that hath no family, and seek a serving woman without a child. Troublous is a serving woman that hath a child. Care, too, for the dog of jagged teeth. Spare not his food, lest the Day

Sleeper filch away thy goods. Also bring in fodder and litter that thou mayest have sufficient store for thy cattle and thy mules. Then let thy thralls rest their knees and loose thine oxen.

But when Orion and Sirius come into mid-heaven, and rosy-fingered Morning looketh upon Arcturus, O Perses, pluck and bring home all thy grapes, and show them to the sun ten days and ten nights. Cover them five days and on the sixth draw off into vessels the gifts of joyous Dionysus. . . . **Vintage.**

In the flower of thine age lead thou home thy bride, when thou art not far short of thirty years nor far past over. This is the timely marriage. Sixteen years old should be the woman; let her marry in the seventeenth. Marry a maiden that thou mayest teach her good ways. Marry a neighbor best of all, with care and circumspection, lest thy marriage be a (malicious) joy to thy neighbors. For no better spoil doth a man win than a good wife, even as he winneth no worse than a bad wife—the banquet-seeker, that roasteth her husband without a brand, and giveth him over to untimely old age. **Marriage.**

II. NAVIGATION

For fifty days after the turning of the sun, when harvest, the weary season, hath come to an end, sailing is seasonable for men. Thou shalt not break thy ship, nor shall the sea destroy thy crew, save only if Poseidon Shaker of the Earth or Zeus the King of the Immortals be wholly minded to destroy. For with them is the issue alike of good and evil. Then are the breezes easy to judge and the sea is harmless. Then trust thou in the winds; with soul untroubled launch the swift ship in the sea, and well bestow therein thy cargo. And haste with all **Directions for navigation.**

Hesiod,
Works and Days.

speed to return home again; neither wait the new wine and autumn rain, the winter's onset and the dread blasts of the southern wind, which, coming with the heavy autumn rain of Zeus, stirreth the sea and maketh the deep perilous.

A less favorable season.

There was no insurance.

Also in spring may men sail; when first on the topmost spray of the fig-tree leaves appear as the foot-print of a crow for size, then is the sea navigable. This is the spring sailing, which I commend not, for it is not pleasing to my mind, snatched sailing that it is. Hardly shalt thou escape doom. Yet even this men do in ignorance of mind. For money is life for hapless men: but dread is death amid the waves, and I bid thee think of all these things in thy heart, even as I say. Neither set thou all thy livelihood in hollow ships, but leave the greater part and put on board the less. For a dread thing it is to chance on doom amid the waves.

III. TARENTUM

Topography and art.

Strabo vi.
3. 1.

Greece, 34;
Ancient
World, 107.

The Gulf of Tarentum is for the most part destitute of a port, but here there is a large commodious harbor closed in by a great bridge. . . . The site of the city is extremely low. The ground rises slightly toward the citadel. The old wall of the city has an immense circuit, but now the greater portion—that toward the isthmus—is deserted; but the part near the mouth of the harbor still subsists and constitutes a considerable city. It possesses a noble gymnasium and a spacious forum, in which stands a bronze colossus of Zeus, the largest ever made excepting the one at Rhodes. The citadel, situated between the forum and the entrance to the harbor, still preserves some slight relics of the ancient magnificence of consecrated offerings, but the best were destroyed either by the Carthaginians when they took the city or by the Romans when

they stormed and sacked it. In the booty taken on this occasion was the bronze colossus of Hercules, the work of Lysippus, now on the Capitoline Hill. It was dedicated there as an offering by Fabius Maximus, who captured the city.

At one time, when the government of the Tarentines had assumed a democratic form, they rose to great importance; for they possessed the largest fleet of all the states in that region, and could bring into the field an army of 30,000 foot and 3,000 horse besides a select body of 1000 cavalry called hipparchi. They adopted, too, the Pythagorean philosophy; and Archytas, who for a long time presided over the government, gave it his special support. At a later period, however, their luxury, arising from their prosperity, so increased that their public festivals exceeded in number the days of the year. Hence arose an inefficient government.

Government.

Strabo vi.
3. 4.

IV. MASSALIA (Marseilles)

Marseilles, founded by the Phocæans, is built in a stony region. Its harbor lies beneath a rock which is shaped like a theatre opening toward the south. Walls protect the harbor and the whole city, which is of considerable size. Within the citadel stand the Ephesium and the temple of the Delphian Apollo. The latter temple is common to all the Ionians. The Ephesium is the temple consecrated to Artemis of Ephesus. It is said that when the Phocæans were about to quit their country, an oracle commanded them to take from Artemis of Ephesus, a conductor for their voyage. On arriving at Ephesus, therefore, they inquired how they might be able to obtain from the goddess what was ordered them. The god-

Its founding.

Strabo iv.
1. 4.

*Ancient
World*, 110.

dess appeared in a dream to Aristarcha, one of the most honorable women of the city, and commanded her to accompany the Phocæans, and to take with her a plan of the temple and statues. When this was done and the colony settled, the Phocæans built a temple, and evinced their great respect for Aristarcha by making her priestess. All the colonies sent out from Marseilles hold this goddess in peculiar reverence, preserving the form of the statue as well as every rite observed in the mother-city.

Government. The Massalians live under a well-regulated aristocracy.

Ib. 5. They have a council composed of six hundred persons called timuchi, who enjoy this dignity for life. Fifteen timuchi preside over the council and have the management of current affairs; these fifteen are presided over by three of their number, in whom rests the chief authority; and of these three, one is chairman. No one can become a timuchus unless he has children and has been a citizen for three generations. Their laws, which are the same as those of the Ionians, they expound in public.

Livelihood. Their country abounds in vines and olives, but on account of its ruggedness their wheat is poor. Hence they trust more to the resources of the sea than of the land, and avail themselves of their excellent position for commerce. They have found it possible, however, through perseverance to annex some of the surrounding plains, and also to found cities. Of this number are the cities they founded in Iberia as a rampart against the Iberians, in which they introduced the worship of Artemis of Ephesus as practised in the fatherland, with the Greek mode of sacrifice. . . . They possess also dry docks and armories. Formerly they had an abundance of vessels, arms, and machines for navigation and for besieging towns, by which means they defended themselves against the barbarians.

Timuchi,
"holders of
honor"
(office.)

V. RELATION BETWEEN THE COLONY AND THE MOTHER-CITY

I maintain that this colony of ours has a father and a mother, who are no other than the colonizing state. Well I know that many colonies have been, and will be, at enmity with their parents. But in early days, the child, as in a family, loves and is loved; even if there come a time later when the tie is broken, still while he is in want of education, he naturally loves his parents and is beloved by them, and flies to his relatives for protection, and finds in them his only natural allies in time of need; and this parental feeling already exists in the Cnossians, as is shown by their care of the new city; and there is a similar feeling on the part of the young city toward Cnossus.

As a child to a parent.

Plato, *Laws*, vi. 754.

Greece, 39;
Ancient World, 106.

VI. ATHENIAN DECREE FOR THE COLONIZATION OF BREA, 446-445

The leaders of the colonists shall provide flocks of goats, as many as they shall deem sufficient, for the offering of auspicious sacrifices in behalf of the colony. Ten men shall be chosen as surveyors, one from each tribe, and these men shall assign the land. Democrides shall have full power to establish the colony according to the best of his ability. The sacred domains that have been set apart shall be left as they are, and no others shall be consecrated.

Religious rites.

An inscription.

Surveyors.

The founder.

STUDIES

1. What things must the farmer have to begin with? Do these directions have reference to a large or a small farm? Describe the making of a plow. What kinds of wood grew in the forests? Who will make the best plowman? Is this man of forty slave or free? Does this reference to the plowman and the slave boy indicate a very

small farm? How was the seed covered? What class of men frequent the club-houses? What should the farmer do during winter? Describe the threshing; the vintage. What directions are given for marriage?

2. What are the seasons for navigation? What precaution is to be taken regarding the cargo? What seems to have been the condition of navigation?

3. Describe the situation of Tarentum. What became of its works of art? What was its form of government?

4. How did Artemis come to be the chief deity of Marseilles? Compare the government of this city with that of Tarentum. What were the occupations of the people?

5. How was the colony related to the mother-city?

6. What regulations for the founding of Brea did Athens establish by decree?

CHAPTER XII

THE RISE OF SPARTA AND THE PELOPONNESIAN LEAGUE

I. LYCURGUS: REGENCY AND TRAVELS

WITH regard to Lycurgus the lawgiver there is nothing whatever that is undisputed; as his birth, his travels, his death, and besides all this, his legislation, have all been related in various ways. . . . He was king for eight months in all; and was much looked up to by the citizens who rendered a willing obedience to him, because of his eminent virtues rather than because he was regent with royal powers. There was, nevertheless, a faction which grudged him his elevation, and tried to oppose him, as he was a young man. . . . He decided to avoid all suspicion by leaving the country and travelling until his nephew should be grown up and have an heir born to succeed him.

Nothing positively known of him.

Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 1-6.

Greece, 56; *Ancient World*, 117 f.

With this intention he set sail, and first came to Crete, where he studied the constitution and mixed with the leading statesmen. Some part of their laws he approved and made himself master of, with the intention of adopting them on his return home, while with others he was dissatisfied. One of the men who had a reputation there for learning and state-craft he made his friend, and induced him to go to Sparta. This was Thaletas, who was thought to be merely a lyric poet, and who used this art to conceal his graver requirements, being in reality deeply versed in legislation. His poems were exhortations to

His visit to Crete.

112 Sparta and the Peloponnesian League

unity and concord, breathing a spirit of calm and order, which insensibly civilised their hearers and by urging them to the pursuit of honorable objects, led them to lay aside the feelings of party strife so prevalent in Sparta; so that he may be said in some degree to have educated the people and prepared them to receive the reforms of Lycurgus.

II. HIS IDEA OF EDUCATION

Wishing still further to put down luxury and take away the desire for riches, he introduced the third and the most admirable of his reforms, that of the common dining-table. At this the people were to meet and dine together upon a fixed allowance of food, and not to live in their own homes, lolling on expensive couches at rich tables, fattened like beasts in private by the hands of servants and cooks, and undermining their health by indulgence to excess in every bodily desire, long sleep, warm baths, and much repose, so that they required a sort of daily nursing like sick people.

Considering education to be the most important and the noblest work of a lawgiver, he began at the very beginning, and regulated marriages and the birth of children. It is not true that, as Aristotle says, he endeavored to regulate the lives of the women, and failed, being foiled by the liberty and habits of command which they had acquired by the long absences of their husbands on military expeditions, during which they were necessarily left in sole charge at home, wherefore their husbands looked up to them more than was fitting, calling them Mistresses; but he made what regulations were necessary for them also. He strengthened the bodies of the girls by exercises in running, wrestling, and hurling quoits or javelins, in

Public
tables.

Plutarch,
Lycurgus, 10.

Girls and
women.

Ib. 14.

order that their children might spring from a healthy source and so grow up strong. . . . He did away with all affectation of seclusion and retirement among the women, and ordained that the girls, no less than the boys, should go unclad in processions, and dance and sing at festivals in the presence of the young men.

III. THE MODESTY OF THE YOUTHS; THE MODERATION OF THEIR FOOD

Furthermore, in his desire firmly to implant in their youthful souls a root of modesty he imposed upon these bigger boys a special rule. In the very streets they were to keep their two hands within the folds of the cloak; they were to walk in silence and without turning their heads to gaze, now here now there, but rather to keep their eyes fixed upon the ground before them. And hereby it would seem to be proved conclusively that, even in the matter of quiet bearing and sobriety, the masculine type may claim greater strength than that which we attribute to the nature of women. At any rate, you might sooner expect a stone image to find voice than one of those Spartan youths; to divert the eyes of some bronze statue were less difficult. And as to quiet bearing, no bride ever stepped in bridal bower with more natural modesty. Note them when they have reached the public table. The plainest answer to the question asked,—that is all you need expect from their lips.

Silent and dignified.

Xenophon,
*Constitution
of the Lace-
dæmonians*,
3.

As to food, his ordinance allowed them so much as while not inducing repletion, should guard them from actual want. And in fact, there are many exceptional dishes in the shape of game supplied from the hunting field. Or, as a substitute for these, rich men will occasion-

Their food.

Ib. 5-7.

ally garnish the feast with wheaten loaves. So that from beginning to end, till the mess breaks up, the common board is never stinted for viands, nor yet extravagantly furnished.

IV. THE PERIÆCI AND THE HELOTS

The land system.

Plutarch,
Lycurgus,
8.

Putting his proposal immediately into practice, he divided the outlying lands of the state among the periœci, in thirty thousand lots, and that immediately adjoining the metropolis among the native Spartans, in nine thousand lots, for to that number they then amounted. Some say that Lycurgus made six thousand lots, and that Polydorus added three thousand afterwards; others that he added half the nine thousand, and that only half was allotted by Lycurgus.

Each man's lot was of such a size as to supply a man with seventy medimni of barley, and his wife with twelve, and oil and wine in proportion; for thus much he thought ought to suffice them, as the food was enough to maintain them in health, and they wanted nothing more. It is said that, some years afterwards, as he was returning from a journey through the country at harvest-time, when he saw the sheaves of corn lying in equal parallel rows, he smiled, and said to his companions that all Laconia seemed as if it had just been divided among so many brothers.

The Crypteia.

Ib. 28.

Greece, 59 f.;
Ancient World, 112 f.

In all these acts of Lycurgus we cannot find any traces of the injustice and unfairness which some complain of in his laws, which they say are excellent to produce courage but less so for justice. And the institution called Crypteia, if indeed it is one of the laws of Lycurgus, as Aristotle tells us, would agree with the idea which Plato conceived about him and his system. The Crypteia was this: the leaders of the young men used at intervals to

send the most discreet of them into different parts of the country, equipped with daggers and necessary food; in the daytime these men used to conceal themselves in unfrequented spots, and take their rest, but at night they would come down into the roads and murder any helots they found. And often they would range about the fields, and make away with the strongest and bravest helots they could find. Also, as Thucydides mentions in his *History of the Peloponnesian War*, those helots who were especially honored by the Spartans for their valor were crowned as free men, and taken to the temples with rejoicings; but in a short time they all disappeared, to the number of more than two thousand, and in such a way that no man, either then or afterward, could tell how they perished. Aristotle says that the Ephors, when they first take office, declare war against the helots, in order that it may be lawful to destroy them. And much other harsh treatment used to be inflicted upon them; and they were compelled to drink much unmixed wine, and then were brought into the public dining halls, to show the young what drunkenness is.

They were also forced to sing low songs, and to dance low dances, and not to meddle with those of a higher character. It is said that when the Thebans made their celebrated campaign in Lacedæmon, they ordered the helots whom they captured to sing them the songs of Terpander, and Alcman, and Spendon the Laconian; but they begged to be excused for they said, "the masters do not like it." So it seems to have been well said that in Lacedæmon, the free man was more free, and the slave more a slave than anywhere else. This harsh treatment, I imagine, began in later times, especially after the great earthquake, when they relate that the helots joined the

Degradation
of the helots.

116 Sparta and the Peloponnesian League

Messenians, ravaged the country and almost conquered it. I cannot impute this wicked act of the Crypteia to Lycurgus, when I consider the gentleness and justice of his general behavior, which also we know was inspired by heaven.

VI. THE COUNCIL OF ELDERS

Criticisms
on the council.

Aristotle,
Politics. ii. 9.

Candidates
passed one
by one
through the
assembly
and were
acclaimed.
The returning
board behind
a screen
determined
the choice by
the intensity
of the ap-
plause.

Again, the council of elders is not free from defects. It may be said that the elders are good men and well trained in manly virtue; and that, therefore, there is an advantage to the state in having them. But that judges of important causes should hold office for life is not a good thing, for the mind grows old as well as the body. And when men have been educated in such a manner that even the legislator himself cannot trust them, there is real danger. Many of the elders are well known to have taken bribes and to have been guilty of partiality in public affairs. And therefore they ought not to be irresponsible; yet at Sparta they are so. But it may be replied: "All magistracies are accountable to the Ephors." Yes, but this prerogative is too great for them, and we maintain that the control should be exercised in some other manner. Further, the mode in which the Spartans elect their elders is childish; and it is improper that the person to be elected should canvass for the office; the worthiest should be appointed whether he chooses or not. And here the legislator clearly indicates the same intention which appears in other parts of his constitution; he would have his citizens ambitious, and he has reckoned upon this quality in the election of the elders; for no one would ask to be elected if he were not. Yet ambition and avarice, almost more than any other passions, are the motives of crime. . .

The charge which Plato brings, in the *Laws*, against

the intention of the legislator, is likewise justified; the whole constitution has regard to one part of virtue only,—the virtue of the soldier, which gives victory in war. And so long as they were at war, their power was preserved, but when they had attained empire they fell; for of the arts of peace they knew nothing, and had never engaged in any employment higher than war. There is another error, equally great, into which they have fallen. Although they truly think that the goods for which they contend are to be acquired by virtue rather than by vice, they err in supposing that these goods are to be preferred to the virtue which gains them.

They think too much of war.

VII. THE TWO KINGS

These are the royal rights which have been given by the Spartans to their kings, namely, two priesthoods, of Zeus Lacedæmon and Zeus Uranius; and the right of making war against whatsoever land they please, and that no man of the Spartans shall hinder this right, or if he do, he shall be subject to the curse; and that when they go on expeditions the kings shall go out first and return last; that a hundred picked men shall be their guard upon expeditions; and that they shall use in their goings forth to war as many cattle as they desire, and take both the hides and the backs of all that are sacrificed.

Privileges in war.

Herodotus vi. 56.

Greece, 61;
Ancient World, 116 f.

These are their privileges in war; and in peace moreover things have been assigned to them as follows:—if any sacrifice is performed at the public charge, it is the privilege of the kings to sit down at the feast before all others, and the attendants shall begin with them first, and serve to each of them a portion of everything double that which is given to the other guests, and they shall have the first

Privileges in peace.

Herodotus vi. 57.

pouring of libations and the hides of the animals slain in sacrifice. On every new moon and seventh day of the month there shall be delivered at the public charge to each one of them a full-grown victim in the temple of Apollo, and a measure of barley-groats and a Laconian "quarter" of wine; and at all the games they shall have seats of honor specially set apart for them. Moreover it is their privilege to appoint as protectors of strangers whomsoever they will of the citizens, and to choose each two "Pythians." Now the Pythians are men sent to consult the god at Delphi, and they eat with the kings at the public charge.

Their dinner.

And if the kings do not come to dinner, it is the rule that there shall be sent out for them to their houses two quarts of barley-groats for each one and half a pint of wine; but if they are present, double shares of everything shall be given them, and moreover they shall be honored in this same manner when they have been invited to dinner by private persons. The kings also, it is ordained, shall have charge of the oracles which are given, but the Pythians too shall have knowledge of them.

Jurisdiction.

It is the rule moreover that the kings alone give decisions on the following cases only, that is to say, about the maiden who inherits her father's property, namely who ought to have her, if her father have not betrothed her to anyone, and about public ways; also if any man desires to adopt a son, he must do it in presence of the kings; and it is ordained that they shall sit in council with the elders, who are in number eight and twenty; and if they do not come, those of the elders who are most closely related to them shall have the privileges of the kings and give two votes besides their own, making three in all.

Seats in the Council.

Funeral.
Herodotus
vi. 58.

These rights have been assigned to the kings for their lifetime by the Spartan state; and after they are dead these

which follow:—horsemen go round and announce that which has happened throughout the whole of the Laconian land; and in the city women go about and strike upon a copper kettle. Whenever this happens so, two free persons of each household must go into mourning, a man and a woman, and for those who fail to do this, great penalties are appointed. Now the custom of the Lacedæmonians about the death of their kings is the same as that of the barbarians who dwell in Asia, for most of the barbarians practise the same custom as regards the death of their kings. Whensoever a king of the Lacedæmonians is dead, then from the whole territory of Lacedæmon, not reckoning the Spartans, a certain fixed number of the “dwellers round” are compelled to go to the funeral ceremony; and when there have been gathered together of these and of the helots and of the Spartans themselves many thousands in the same place, with their women intermingled, they beat their foreheads with a good will and make lamentation without stint, saying that this one who has died last of their kings was the best of all; and whenever any of their kings has been killed in war, they prepare an image to represent him, laid upon a couch with fair coverings, and carry it out to be buried. Then after they have buried him, no assembly is held among them for ten days, nor is there any meeting for choice of magistrates, but they have mourning during these days.

VIII. CONSTITUTION OF THE PELOPONNESIAN LEAGUE

In 418 B.C. Lacedæmon made an alliance with Argos, practically admitting the latter to the Peloponnesian league. The terms of the treaty throw a clear light on the relation between Sparta and her allies.

It seems good to the Lacedæmonians and to the Argives

Treaty between Lacedæmon and Argos, 418, B.C.

Document
quoted by
Thucydides
v. 79.

It is only
from such
documents
and from oc-
casional
references of
historians
that we
obtain a
knowledge
of the Pel-
oponnesian
constitution.

*Greece, 79 f.;
Ancient
World, 120 f.*

to make peace and alliance for fifty years on the following conditions:—

I. They shall submit to arbitration on fair and equal terms, according to their ancestral customs.

II. The other cities of Peloponnesus shall participate in the peace and alliance, and shall be independent and their own masters, retaining their own territory and submitting to arbitration on fair and equal terms, according to their ancestral customs.

III. All the allies of the Lacedæmonians outside Peloponnesus shall share in the same terms as the Lacedæmonians, and the allies of the Argives shall be in the same position as the Argives, and shall retain their present territory.

IV. If it shall be necessary to make any expedition in common against any place, the Lacedæmonians and the Argives shall consult together and fix the share in the war which may be equitably borne by the allies.

V. If any of the states either within or without Peloponnesus, have a dispute about a frontier, or any other matter, the difference shall be duly settled. But should a quarrel break out between two of the allied cities, they shall appeal to some state which both the cities deem to be impartial.

VI. Justice shall be administered to the individual citizens according to their ancestral customs.

We may add the following clauses from an earlier treaty, which shed further light on the Peloponnesian constitution:—

VII. The cities of Peloponnesus, both small and great, shall be independent according to their ancestral laws.

VIII. If anyone from without Peloponnesus comes against Peloponnesus with evil intent, the Peloponnesians

Document
quoted by
Thucydides
v. 77.

shall take counsel together and shall repel the enemy; and the several states shall bear such a share in the war as shall seem equitable to the Peloponnesians.

IX. TREATY BETWEEN THE ELEIANS AND THE HERÆANS

This document is interesting as the earliest Greek treaty for which we have inscriptional evidence. It belongs to the first half of the sixth century B.C.—probably about 572, when the Eleians gained control of Olympia and its festival. Heræa was a neighboring district of Arcadia. Probably the treaties between Lacedæmon and her individual allies were cast in a similar form.

The covenant of the Eleians and the Heræans: There shall be an alliance for one hundred years, and this year shall begin it. If anything shall be needed, whether word or deed, they shall assist one another in all other respects and in war. If they fail to assist one another, the party that fails shall pay a talent of silver as an offering to Olympian Zeus. If anyone, whether private citizen, magistrate or community, violates these provisions, he shall be subject to the sacred fine herein provided.

The terms.

Or possibly,
"injures this
inscription."

STUDIES

1. What evidence do we here find that Lycurgus was a myth? What significance has the story that he got his laws from Crete?
2. What do we gather from this passage as to the spirit and object of Spartan education? How were the girls trained?
3. What does Xenophon say of the deportment of youths? What restriction was placed on their food?
4. What lands were owned by the Spartans and the pericæci respectively? What did a Spartan receive from his lot?
5. Describe the crypteia. What was the condition of the helots? Why were they treated harshly?
6. What defects does Aristotle find in the Lacedæmonian council of Elders? What objection has he to canvassing for offices? What

122 Sparta and the Peloponnesian League

would he think of our politics? What are the two chief motives to crime?

7. What rights have the Lacedæmonian kings in war and in peace respectively? Who were the Pythians? Describe the ceremonies at the funeral of a king. From what source did the Lacedæmonians probably adopt this custom?

8. From these two documents make out as full a written statement as possible of the relation between Sparta and her several allies. To what extent was arbitration employed?

9. What are the terms of treaty mentioned in this document? Who was the Olympian Zeus?

CHAPTER XIII

ATHENS: FROM MONARCHY TO DEMOCRACY

I. THE KINGSHIP AND THE ARISTOCRACY

AFTERWARD it came about that for a long time the nobles and commons disturbed the state by their sedition. For the government was oligarchic in all respects; and particularly the poor, with their children and wives, were in slavery to the rich. They were called *pelataë* [clients] and *hectemori* "[sixth-part men]", for they tilled the fields of the wealthy for that amount of rent. All the land was in the hands of the few; and if they [the tenants] failed to render the rents due, they and their children were liable to enslavement. There were loans on the security of every one's person down to the time of Solon; and he was in fact the first to stand forth as a patron of the commons. Now it was a most hard and grievous feature of the constitution that the masses should be in slavery; not but that they had other grounds of complaint, for they were, so to speak, excluded from everything.

Social condition before Solon.

Aristotle, *Constitution of the Athenians*, 2.

Greece, 46 f.; *Ancient World*, 130.

The organization of the original government [of the republic] as it existed before Draco, was as follows. Their appointments to office were based on the qualifications of birth and wealth. Originally the offices were life-long and afterward decennial. The first and most important magistrates were the king, polemarch, and archon. The earliest of these three was the kingship, for it existed from the beginning. Secondly was instituted in addition the polemarchy because of the fact that some of the kings

From kingship to aristocracy.

Arist. *ib.* 3.

had proved incapable in war; hence they had sent for Ion on an occasion of especial need. The last was the archonship. . . . The thesmothetæ were for the first time chosen many years later—when the magistrates had already come to be elected annually—in order that they might record the customary laws and keep them for the trial of offenders. Therefore this alone of the offices has never been longer than a year in duration. Thus much do they precede one another in the time (of their institution). . . . They had absolute power to settle cases without appeal, and not as now merely to hold a preliminary trial. These, then, were the regulations regarding the offices. And the council of the Areopagus had the function of watching over the laws; but in fact it managed the most numerous and important public affairs with full power to chastise and fine all who acted disorderly. Birth and wealth were required of those who were elected archons; and from them the Areopagites were constituted. Hence the office of the latter has alone remained lifelong to the present day.

II. THE TIMOCRACY

Constitution
in the time
of Draco.

Ib. 4.

Such is an outline of the original constitution. No long time afterward in the archonship of Aristæchmus, Draco drew up his laws. But the constitution itself [as it then existed] had the following character. The franchise had already been granted to those who could furnish a panoply. They elected the nine archons and the treasurers from such as possessed an estate worth not less than ten minas free from encumbrance, and the other, less important offices from those who had the franchise. The generals and hipparchs must show an estate free from encumbrance, worth no less than a hundred minas, and

must be the fathers of children above ten years of age, born of a lawful wife. It was necessary for these persons, namely the prytanes, generals and hipparchs, to give security for the year to the time of their audit, furnishing four securities of the same census class as the generals and the hipparchs. There was to be a Council of Four Hundred and One, appointed by lot from those who had a right to vote. This and other offices were filled by lot from the citizens above thirty years of age, and it was not permitted to hold the same office a second time till all had their turn, then the lot was drawn anew from the beginning. When there was a session of the council or assembly if any councillor was absent, he was fined if a pentacosimedimnus three drachmas, if a knight two, if a zeugite one. The council of the Areopagus was guardian of the laws, and supervised the offices to see that they were legally administered. It was permitted to anyone who was injured, to bring an impeachment before the Areopagites, citing the law in violation of which he was suffering harm. However, there were loans on the security of the person, as has been said, and the land was in the hands of the few.

III. SOLON

Such being the organization of the government, while the many were in slavery to the few, the commons rose in revolt against the nobles. After the sedition had grown strong and the two parties had long been arrayed against each other, they in common elected Solon as arbitrator and archon, and intrusted to him the constitution. The occasion was his composition of the elegy beginning thus:—

“I perceive, and within my heart lie griefs, as I see the oldest country of Iaconia in distress. Never is it the will

There can be no doubt that such a form of government existed before Solon, though some of these details seem to be wrong (e. g. the property qualifications of these magistrates).

Greece, 45;
Ancient World, 126 ff.

Election to the archonship.

Arist. ib. 5.

Greece, 50 ff.;
Ancient World, 130 ff.

**Oppression
of the poor.**

Only the first
two lines of
this poem
are found
in Arist.

Const. Ath.;
the rest is
taken from
another
source.

of Zeus and the thought of the blessed immortal gods that our city perish; for in such wise the high-souled guardian of the city, Pallas Athena, daughter of a mighty sire spreads over it her hands. The nobles, persuaded by their love of money, desire recklessly to destroy the great city. And as to the people, the mind of their magistrates is dishonest—magistrates who are destined to suffer many ills because of their monstrous violence. For they know not how to be satisfied or to enjoy the present feast in quiet. . . . They grow wealthy in obedience to unjust deeds. . . . They spare neither sacred nor public property and they rob and steal, one here and one there. They guard not the revered foundations of Justice, who though silent, knows what is going on, what went on before, and has come to demand full settlement in time. This wound inevitable hath come upon all the city, namely evil slavery into which the state hath quickly fallen, and which stirs up civil strife and war,—war that destroys our lovely youth in numbers. For our well-beloved city is consumed by the evil-minded in their meetings, in which unjust plans are held dear. These are the ills prevailing in the commons; but many of the poor are going into a foreign land, sold and bound in unseemly chains and suffer hateful woes by force of slavery. Hall doors no longer will to hold the evil, it leapeth over the lofty edge, and you find it everywhere, even if you hide in a chamber corner. This my soul bids me teach the Athenians, that misrule brings most ills to a city; but good rule makes all things harmonious and at one. Good order puts bonds upon the wicked, smooths the rough, stays satiety, weakens violence, withers flowers that grow of Ate (reckless guilt), straightens crooked judgments, softens acts of cruelty, ends disputation, ends the wrath of hateful strife.”

When he had become master of the state, Solon freed the commons both for the present and for the future by forbidding loans on the security of the person; and he enacted laws and made an abolition of debts both private and public. . . .

Abolition of debts.

Aristotle,
Const. Ath. 6.

He established a constitution and made laws besides, and the ordinances of Draco they ceased using with the exception of those concerning homicide. Engraving the laws on tablets, he set them up in the King's Porch, and all swore to obey them. The nine archons, taking oath on a stone, swore that they would dedicate a golden statue in case they transgressed any of the laws, hence to the present day they continue to take this oath. —

His laws.

Ib. 7.

Aristotle does not say that *all* debts were abolished; and Solon's poems seem to indicate that the abolition applied only to securities on land and person.

He divided [the population] into four census classes, just as it had been divided before, into pentacosiomedimni, knights (hippeis), zeugitæ, and thetes. He assigned the offices to be filled from the pentacosiomedimni, knights and zeugitæ, namely the nine archons, the treasurers, the commissioners of contracts, the eleven, and the colacretæ, distributing them among the several classes according to their property ratings. To the thetic class he granted a share in the assembly and the popular courts only. A pentacosiomedimnus was one who produced from his own estate five hundred measures wet and dry together, a knight three hundred measures, but as some say, one who could support a horse; and they adduce as proof the name of the class, with the idea that it was derived from this circumstance, and they cite the dedicatory offerings of the ancients, for there stands on the Acropolis a statue with the following inscription:—

The census classes.

“Anthemion, son of Diphilus, dedicated this statue to the gods when he exchanged the thetic for the knightly census.” . . .

The *zeugitæ* were those who produced two hundred measures of both kinds, and the rest were *thetes*, who had no right to any magistracy. Hence even now when the question is asked of one who is to be taken by lot for any office, what census class he belongs to, no one answers the *thetic*.

Method of filling the archonship.

Ib. 8.

Here Aristotle seems to be wrong; it seems certain that the archons were elected till 287 B.C.; see ch. 22.

The tribes, trittyes, and naucraries.

The council of the Areopagus.

The archonship he caused to be filled by lot from nominees whom the tribes severally selected. Each tribe chose ten nominees for the archonships and lots were drawn from them; hence even now remains the custom for the tribes to draw severally by lot ten candidates, from whom the archons are then appointed by lot. A proof that he caused them to be taken by lot from the census classes is the law which they continue even now to use concerning the treasurers; it prescribes that they be appointed by lot from the *pentacosimedimni*. Thus Solon legislated regarding the nine archons, whereas in the original form of constitution the council of the Areopagus had called up men and of its own judgment had assigned them according to their qualifications to the several offices for the year. There were four tribes as before and four *tribekings*. From the several tribes were formed three *trittyes*, with twelve *naucraries* to each. Over the *naucraries* were established as a magistracy, the *naucrars*, having charge of the current receipts and expenditures. In the laws of Solon, therefore, which they no longer use, it is often written that the *naucrars* shall pay into and expend from the *naucratic* fund. He constituted further a council of four hundred, a hundred from each tribe; and he assigned the council of the Areopagus to the duty of protecting the laws, just as formerly it was guardian of the constitution. In fact it continued to supervise in addition the most numerous and most important administrative

matters, while it corrected wrong-doers with full power to fine and punish, and it brought up the fines to the Acropolis without the obligation of stating the ground for their exaction. Furthermore it tried conspirators against the state under a law of impeachment which Solon enacted concerning such offenders. Seeing the state often disturbed by sedition and many of the citizens through sheer inertness allowing such affairs to take their own course, he enacted with reference to them a peculiar law, that whoever, when the country is disturbed by sedition, shall not take up arms with either faction, shall be disfranchised and deprived of all part in the state. . . .

When he had arranged the government in the manner described, many people kept coming to him and annoying him in regard to the laws, finding fault with some points and asking questions concerning others; and as he wished neither to disturb these arrangements nor to remain and incur enmities, he went on a journey for trade and sight-seeing to Egypt, saying he would not return for ten years; for he thought it was not right that he should remain and interpret the laws but that everyone should obey them to the letter. It was at the same time his misfortune that many of the nobles were at variance with him because of the abolition of debts and that both factions had shifted their attitude because his reform had turned out contrary to their expectation. For the commons supposed he would redistribute everything, whereas the nobles hoped he would restore to them the same constitution or make but little change in it. He, however, opposed both parties, and though it was permitted him by conspiring with either to make himself tyrant, he preferred to incur the enmity of both parties by saving his country and legislating for the best. . . .

Solon's journey abroad.

Ib. 11.

Justification
of his policy.

Ib. 12, quoting a poem of Solon.

Abolition of mortgages and emancipation of debt-slaves.

"In the just fulness of time the most mighty mother of the Olympian gods will bear me witness, even black Earth, most excellent, that I removed the mortgage pillars which stood in many places,—she was formerly in slavery but now set free. To Athens our country divinely founded, I restored many men who had been sold, some illegally, others under the law, others whom hard necessity forced into exile, who in their many wanderings had forgot the Attic tongue. Others held here in unseemly slavery and trembling under their masters' caprices I set free. These things I did by the power of law, uniting force with justice, and I fulfilled my promise. Ordinances, too, alike for the bad and the good I enacted, adapting straightforward justice to every case. Had another than I, some evil-minded, avaricious man, seized the goad, he would not have restrained the commons; for had I willed what would then have pleased this opposing party, or again what their foes devised for them, this state would now be bereft of many men. Therefore gathering courage from every source, I stood at bay like a wolf amid a pack of dogs." . . .

IV. THE TYRANNY

Usurpation
of Peisistratus,
560 B.C.

Arist. Const. Ath. 14.

Peisistratus appeared to be most devoted to the popular cause, and had won a brilliant reputation in the war with Megara. Having wounded himself, he persuaded the people, on the supposition that his injuries were inflicted by political enemies, to grant him a guard for his person. Taking the club-bearers, as they were called, he conspired with them against the state, and seized the Acropolis in the archonship of Comeas, in the thirty-second year after (Solon's legislation). The story is told that when Peisistratus was asking for a guard, Solon opposed him,

saying that he was wiser than some and braver than others—wiser than those who failed to see that Peisistratus was aiming at the tyranny, and braver than those who knew it but kept silent. As he accomplished nothing with words, he brought out his armor and placed it before his door, saying he had aided his country to the best of his ability (for he was at this time a very old man) and asking the rest now to perform this service. But Solon accomplished nothing by his exhortations at that crisis. Peisistratus, however, assuming the government, managed affairs constitutionally rather than despotically. Before his supremacy was firmly rooted, the party of Megacles, joining in friendship with that of Lycurgus, expelled him in the sixth year after his first establishment, in the archonship of Hegesias. But in the twelfth year afterward Megacles, harassed by sedition, again made overtures of peace to Peisistratus on condition that the latter should take the daughter of the former in marriage. Megacles brought him back in an exceedingly old-fashioned and simple way. Spreading a report that Athena was restoring Peisistratus, he found a tall, handsome woman—of the Pæanian deme as Herodotus says, whereas others describe her as a Thracian flower-girl, named Phye, of Collytus—and dressing her up in imitation of the goddess, he brought her in along with Peisistratus, the latter seated in the chariot with the woman at his side, while the people of the city on their knees received them with adoration.

Thus was brought about the first restoration. He went again into exile about the seventh year after his return; for he did not maintain himself long, but because he was unwilling to treat the daughter of Megacles as his wife, and consequently feared a combination of the two factions, he secretly withdrew from the country. First he

*Greece, 70 f.;
Ancient
World, 135 f.*

**His first
exile and re-
turn.**

There is great inconsistency in the dates of these events.

The demes (townships) had no official existence till after Cleisthenes (ch. 21), but some existed at this time as unorganized villages.

**His second
exile and
return.**

Arist. ib. 15.

colonized a place called Rhæcelus about the Thermaic Gulf; then he crossed over to the neighborhood of Mount Pangæus. Making money in that locality and hiring soldiers, he came to Eretria in the eleventh year. Then for the first time he attempted to recover his supremacy by force, with the coöperation of the Thebans, of Lygdamis of Naxos, and of the knights who had the government at Eretria. Gaining a victory at Pallene and thus recovering his authority, he deprived the people of their arms and firmly established his despotism. Then taking possession of Naxos, he appointed Lygdamis governor. The people he deprived of their arms in the following manner. Holding a review of the citizens under arms at the Theseum, he attempted to address them, but spoke in a low voice; and when they declared they could not hear him, he bade them come up near the gateway of the Acropolis in order that his voice might sound louder. While he was passing the time making his speech, persons appointed to the task took the arms and locking them in a building near the Theseum, came and made a sign to Peisistratus. He finished his speech and then told them about the arms, bidding them not wonder or be dejected but go and attend to their private affairs, as he would himself manage all public matters.

The people
deprived of
their arms.

Constitu-
tional gov-
ernment.

Arist. *Const.*
Ath. 16.

Such was the origin of the tyranny of Peisistratus and such were its vicissitudes. He, as has been said, conducted the government moderately and more in the character of a statesman than of a tyrant. In general he was humane and unusually mild and forgiving to wrong-doers, and especially he lent money to the needy for use in their labors, in order that they might gain a livelihood by agriculture. This he did for two reasons, that they might not pass their time in the city but be scattered throughout

the country, and that, being moderately well off and occupied with their private concerns, they might have neither the desire nor the leisure to attend to public affairs. At the same time the cultivation of the land resulted in the increase of his revenues, for he collected a tenth of the produce. For this reason, too, he established judges to go throughout the demes, and he himself often journeyed into the country to inspect it and to settle disputes. While Peisistratus was on one of these expeditions, it is said that he had the adventure with the man on Hymettus who was cultivating the so-called tax-free farm. Seeing a certain man digging and working among the rocks with a stake, he bade his servant ask what was produced in the place. The other replied, "Only aches and pains, and of these aches and pains Peisistratus must have his tenth." The man answered without knowing him; but Peisistratus, pleased with his candor and his love of work, made him exempt from all taxes.

The "tax-free farm."

In all other respects he absolutely refrained from disturbing the masses by his government, and he always preserved peace and maintained quiet; so that the tyranny of Peisistratus was often spoken of proverbially as the age of Cronos (golden age); for afterward when his sons had succeeded to the throne, the result was that the government became much harsher. Most praiseworthy of all his qualities was his popular and kindly character; for in general he chose to manage all affairs in accordance with the laws, giving himself no advantage, and once when cited for murder before the council of the Areopagus, he presented himself with a view to making his defence, but the accuser failed through fear to come forward. Hence he remained in power for a long time, and whenever he was banished, he easily recovered his position; for many

His character.

Ancient World, 127, IV. I. C.

of the nobles and commons were pleased with his rule. The former he attached to himself by his associations with them, the latter by aid in their private affairs. Throughout these times the laws of the Athenians concerning tyrants were mild, and particularly the one referring to the establishment of tyranny. The law runs thus: "These are the ancestral usages of the Athenians. If anyone attempts to make himself tyrant, or if anyone has a hand in establishing a tyranny, let him and his gens be disfranchised."

**His death;
his children.**

Arist. Const.
Ath. 17.

Here is a misconception of the writer. It was lawful for an Athenian to marry a foreign woman till 451 B.C.; *Greece*, 178 f.; *Ancient World*, 200.

Peisistratus accordingly grew old in office and died of illness in the archonship of Philoneos, having lived thirty three years after the time when he first became tyrant, but having actually remained in power nineteen years; for during the rest of the time he was in exile. Evidently therefore they speak foolishly who assert that Peisistratus was a youthful favorite of Solon and a general in the war with Megara for the possession of Salamis. Their ages do not agree, if one reckons the length of their respective lives and the dates of their deaths. After the decease of Peisistratus his sons secured the power and conducted the administration in the same way. Of his lawful wife he had two sons, Hippias and Hipparchus, and two of his Argive wife, Iophon and Hegesistratus, surnamed Thetaltalus. Peisistratus had married from Argos the daughter of an Argive named Gorgilus. This lady, Timonassa, had formerly been the wife of the Cypselid Archinus of Ambracia. Thence arose his alliance with the Argives, a thousand of whom fought on his side in the battle of Pallene, having been brought by Hegesistratus. Some say he married the Argive woman after his first banishment, others while he was in possession of his authority.

Because of their greater reputation and age Hipparchus

and Hippias were rulers of the state, while Hippias the elder, who was naturally statesmanlike and intelligent, was at the head of the government. Hipparchus, however, was youthful and amorous, and fond of literature. He it was who invited to Athens Anacreon and Simonides and the rest of the poets. [But Thettalus was much younger, and was bold and insolent in manner.] He was the source of all their misfortunes. In love with Harmodius but failing to win his affection, he could not restrain his anger. On all occasions he showed himself bitter; and finally when the sister of Harmodius was about to act as basket-carrier at the Panathenæa, he forbade it, at the same time accusing Harmodius of being effeminate.

Hence it resulted that in their rage Harmodius and Aristogeiton did the deed with the help of many others. At the Panathenæa they were watching Hippias on the Acropolis (as he chanced to be sacrificing while Hipparchus was arranging the procession), and seeing one of the participants in the plot talking in a friendly manner with Hippias, they believed he was informing against them. Wishing accordingly to accomplish something before their arrest, they descended, and beginning action before the others, they killed Hipparchus while he was arranging the procession near the Leocorium. Thus they ruined the whole plot. Harmodius was immediately killed by the guards, and Aristogeiton, arrested afterward, died by prolonged torture. Under constraint he accused many who belonged by birth to the nobility and were friends of the tyrants. For they were unable forthwith to find a clue to the plot. . . .

He accused the tyrants' friends, purposely as the democratic writers say, in order that the tyrants might commit impiety and at the same time be weakened by the de-

Accession of Hippias.

Ib. 18.

This sentence seems an interpolation.

Greece, 71;
Ancient World, 136-8.

The conspiracy.

Accusations.

struction of innocent persons and their own friends, though as some say, he did not deceive but actually informed against his accomplices. Lastly as he was unable, whatever he did, to find death, he proposed to denounce many others, and after persuading Hippias to give him his right hand as a pledge, he grasped it, at the same time reproaching Hippias with having offered his hand to the murderer of his brother. In this way he so exasperated Hippias that the latter could not restrain his wrath but drew his dagger and killed him.

The tyranny becomes harsh.

Ib. 19.

From these events it resulted that the tyranny became far harsher; for in taking vengeance for his brother and in slaying and banishing many citizens, Hippias became distrustful and embittered toward all. About the fourth year after the death of Hipparchus, as his affairs in the city were in a bad condition, he undertook the fortification of Munychia with the idea of changing his residence to that place.

Fall of the tyranny.

While engaged in this work he was expelled by Cleomenes, king of the Lacedæmonians, inasmuch as oracles were continually given to the Laconians to the effect that they should abolish the tyranny. The reason for the oracles is as follows. The exiles, led by Alcmeonidæ, were unable by their own means to effect their return. In all their other undertakings they failed and particularly when they fortified Leipsydrium on Mount Parnes within the country of Attica. Here, joined by certain men from the city, they were besieged by the tyrants, wherefore after their disaster people used to sing in skolia:—

“Alas, Leipsydrium, traitor to your friends, how good the men you slew, how brave in fight, how nobly born! They showed in that fray their illustrious parentage.”

Having failed in everything else, they contracted to

build the temple at Delphi. This transaction provided them well with the means of gaining the aid of the Lacedæmonians. Whenever, accordingly, the Lacedæmonians consulted the oracle, the Pythia always replied that they must set Athens free, till she succeeded in persuading the Spartans notwithstanding that they were guest-friends of the Peisistratidæ. There was added a no small cause of the undertaking on the part of the Laconians in the alliance existing between the Argives and the Peisistratidæ. In the first place they despatched Anchimolus with an army by sea. He was beaten and slain with the aid of Cineas the Thessalian, who came with a thousand cavalry. Enraged at the event, they sent by land with a larger force Cleomenes the king, who after defeating the Thessalian horsemen in their endeavor to prevent his invasion of Attica, drove Hippias into the so-called Pelargic wall, and besieged him there with the aid of the Athenians. This event took place in the archonship of Harpactides, after they had held the tyranny about seventeen years since the death of their father, and including his reign, forty nine years in all.

The Lacedæmonians war against the tyrant.

V. CLEISTHENES AND THE DEMOCRACY

When the tyranny had fallen, a sedition arose between Isagoras, son of Teisander, a friend of the tyrants, and Cleisthenes of the gens of the Alcmeonidæ. Beaten by means of the clubs, Cleisthenes attached the commons to himself by promising the franchise to the masses. Isagoras, now proving inferior in strength, called to his aid Cleomenes, his guest-friend, and persuaded him to expel the pollution; for it was the common opinion that the Alcmeonidæ were under a curse. Thereupon Cleisthenes

Cleisthenes and Isagoras, 510-509 B.C.

Arist. *Const. Ath.* 20.

Because they had impiously slain the followers of Cylon; *Greece*, 46; *Ancient World*, 128 f.

with a few persons secretly withdrew from the country, while Cleomenes proceeded to expel as polluted seven hundred Athenian families. Having accomplished this object, he attempted to dissolve the council and to make Isagoras and three hundred of his partisans masters of the state. But as the council opposed and the multitude gathered, Cleomenes and Isagoras with their party took refuge in the Acropolis. The commons thereupon encamped and besieged them two days; on the third day they permitted Cleomenes and all with him to depart under a truce, but recalled Cleisthenes and the rest of the exiles. Now that the commons had become masters of the state, Cleisthenes was their leader and champion: for the Alcmeonidæ were perhaps the chief cause of the tyrants' expulsion and were almost always at sedition with them. . . .

Constitutional reforms, 208 B.C.

Arist. Const. Ath. 21.

Greece, 81-4; *Ancient World*, 138-41.

For these reasons the people trusted Cleisthenes. On that occasion, as he was leader of the people in the fourth year after the overthrow of the tyrants, in the archonship of Isagoras, in the first place he distributed all the people among ten tribes in place of four, with the object of intermixing them in order that more might have a share in the franchise. Hence arose the saying, "Do not discriminate between the tribes" with reference to those who wished to scrutinize the gentes. Then he constituted the council of five hundred in place of four hundred, fifty from each tribe instead of a hundred as formerly. The reason for his not distributing the people among twelve tribes was his desire to avoid the division into the existing trittyes. . . .

The demes and the tribes.

Ib. 21.

The country he divided by demes into thirty parts, ten about the city, ten in the paralia, ten in the midland; and calling these parts trittyes, he assigned three by lot to each tribe in such a way that every tribe might have

a trittys in each of the three local sections. The inhabitants of the respective demes he made demesmen of one another in order that they might not expose the new citizens by calling them after the names of their fathers, but that they might be named after their demes. Hence the Athenians continue to call themselves by the names of their demes. He instituted demarchs with the same function as the earlier naucrars, for he made the demes to take the place of the naucraries. Some of the demes he named after localities, others after their founders; for all the localities did not preserve the names of their founders. Their gentes and phratries and priesthoods he permitted them severally to keep according to ancestral usage. As eponyms of the tribes he appointed the ten whom the Pythia had selected from the hundred founders nominated to her.

Naucraries;
ch. 8 above.

Gentes and
phratries.

Through these changes the constitution became far more democratic than that of Solon. The fact is that the tyranny had abolished some of the laws of Solon through failure to observe them, and Cleisthenes in his effort to win the populace enacted new regulations, among which was the law of ostracism. It was not however till the fifth year after his legislation that, in the archonship of Hermocreon, they drew up for the Council of Five Hundred the oath which the members continue even now to swear. Then they began to elect the generals by tribes, one from each tribe, whereas the commander of the entire army was the polemarch.

*The govern-
ment is
more demo-
cratic.

Ib. 22.

The Council
of Five
Hundred.

The gen-
erals.

STUDIES

1. What was the condition of the majority of Athenian citizens before Solon? How did the change from monarchy to aristocracy affect the offices? What place in the government was held by the Council of the Areopagus?

2. What were the chief features of the timocracy? Compare it in detail with the preceding aristocracy.

3. What brought Solon into prominence? What conditions are described by his poem? How do his poems compare as sources with Aristotle's *Constitution of the Athenians*? Where did Aristotle probably get his knowledge of Solon? What debts did he abolish? How were his laws to be preserved? What was now to be the place of the Council of the Areopagus? What features of Solon's government were new and what were continued from earlier time? Why did Solon go abroad? What does he say of his own achievements?

4. How did Peisistratus make himself tyrant? Narrate his exile and returns. How did he finally establish his power? What was the character of his rule? From the story of the tax-free farm what do we learn as to the condition of the poorest farmers? Describe the character of Peisistratus. Compare the rule of his sons. What led to the overthrow of the tyranny? What part in the event was taken by Cleisthenes?

5. What were the aims of Cleisthenes and Isagoras? Does the former seem to have been at heart a democrat? What arrangements of demes and tribes did he make, and with what objects? Compare his form of government with that established by Solon. Which deserves the greater credit as a reformer?

CHAPTER XIV

THE POETS AND THE PHILOSOPHERS

FROM THE SEVENTH TO THE EARLY FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

I. A WAR-SONG

BY CALLINUS

Sit ye in quiet how long? Stir up the fierce spirit within you;
Have ye no feeling of shame, youths, for the dwellers around?
Why thus remiss? Do ye think ye are sitting in blissful contentment
Peace given, while dread war holds all our dear native land?
Now in the moment of death hurl your last spear at the foe!
Honored is he and esteemed who fights in the foremost of lancers,
Guarding his country, his home, guarding his dear wedded wife,
Fighting with foes; for death comes but once, and whenever it may be.
Fate cuts the thread of our life. Each must go quick to the front,
Grasping his spear in his hand, and under his shield his untrembling
Heart pressing, panting for fight, mingling in deadliest fray.
Fate hath decreed that from death there shall be by no prudence
avoiding;

Doomed are all mortals to die, saving no sons of the gods.
Often the din of the battle, the hurtling of lances escaping,
Sees man the terror of death stalking into his home.
Weaklings are dear to no state, nor in death by the people lamented;
Warriors the great and the small mourn when they face their fair
doom;

Longing intense fills all hearts in the land for the stout-minded hero
Dying in liberty's cause; living they hold him divine.
Just like a tower of defence in the eyes of the people appearing,
Works he the deeds of a host, striving alone in his might.

Callinus of Ephesus wrote this poem to rouse his countrymen against the barbarous Cimmerians, who assailed them.

The metre of the translation—elegiac pentameter—is that of the original.

The poem breathes military fire.

II. TYRTÆUS

NOBLE it is to fall a valiant man in the front line of warriors battling for the fatherland, but of all things most

**The fight is
for home and
country.**

Those who
fail in the
war will be
forced into
miserable
exile.

*Greece, 62 f.;
Ancient
World, 119.*

**Let the
brave fight
in front!**

The poet
addresses all
the Spartans
as descend-
ants of the
hero Hera-
cles; *Ancient
World, 92.*

grievous to leave one's city and rich farm and to wander begging with a dear mother, an aged father, little children and wedded wife. One driven about by need and hateful penury will seem a foe to all among whom he comes. Every kind of dishonor and evil will pursue him. If for such a wanderer there is no care or respect or heed or pity, then let us fight with heart for this our country; let us die for children's sake with no stint of life. Come, youths, to battle, firm standing by comrade's side; begin not shameful flight and panic. Do not by retreat abandon the old whose knees no more are supple; indeed it is a shameful thing for an elder to fall in battle in front of youths—the aged man with white head and hoary beard, breathing out his valiant soul in the very dust, covering bloody wounds with his own hands,—his person stripped—a sight to stir up pity and revenge. But to the young, all this is fitting while yet remains the brilliant bloom of lovely youth, admired of men, adored of women while he lives; and when he has fallen in the front—still beautiful. Then with firm poise with both feet fixed on earth, teeth biting lip, let each man stand his ground!

Ye of the race of Heracles unconquered, be brave; Zeus turns not away in disfavor. Fear not nor dread a mass of men; let each bring shield quick into the front rank, holding his own life hateful but death's black fates dear as sunbeams. For well ye know the war-god's actions all-annihilating, that cause the tears to flow; well have ye learned the wrath of troublous war. Of fleeing and pursuing oft have ye told, young men, and of both have ye pushed into surfeit. Now let those who dare, side by side, advance as champions into closest fray; thus fewer die and they save the host behind; but when *some* are cowards, *all* bravery has departed. No one could in words recount

the ills that befall a man who suffers cowardice. Horrible it is to cleave the back of a fugitive in hostile war, pitiable a body lying in the dust, the back thrust through with spear-point. With firm poise, then, with both feet fixed on earth, teeth biting lip, let each man stand his ground, covering with broad shield his hips and legs beneath, his shoulders, breast and vitals. With right hand let him wield a mighty lance and toss above the head his fearful crest. Let the timid learn to do knightly deeds, and stand not off with shield beyond the range of darts; but come to close fight and with long lance or sword-thrust slay his foeman. Pressing foot on foot, shield on shield, crest on crest, helmet on helmet, grapple your man, with hand on sword hilt or long spear. And ye light troops here and there, beneath your shields crouched, pelt them with heavy stones, hurl with polished darts, but keep you near the phalanx.

This passage gives interesting information concerning equipments and manner of fighting.

III. SELECTIONS FROM ALCÆUS

WINTER

Zeus hails. The streams are frozen. In the sky
A mighty storm is raging high.
And now the forest thick, the ocean hoar,
Grow clamorous with the Thacian tempest's roar.

But drive away the storm, and make the fire .
Hotter and pile the logs and faggots higher;
Pour out the tawny wine with lavish hand,
And bind about thy head a fleecy band.

It ill befits to yield the heart to pain.
What profits grief, or what will sorrow gain?
O Bacchus, bring us wine, delicious wine,
And sweet intoxication, balm divine.

The metre of the original is Alcaic, named after Alcæus; that of the translation is somewhat similar

Greece, 90;
Ancient World, 154.

THE ARMORY

This poem
Alcæus wrote
to encourage
his comrades
in a civil war.

The spacious hall in brazen splendor gleams,
And all the house in Ares' honor beams.
The helmets glitter; high upon the wall
The nodding plumes of snowy horse's hair,
Man's noblest ornaments, wave over all;
And brightly gleaming brazen greaves are there,
Each hanging safe upon its hidden nail,
A sure defence against the arrowy hail.
And many coats of mail, and doublets stout,
Breast-plates of new-spun linen, hollow shields,
Well-worn and brought from foe-abandoned fields,
And broad Chalcidian swords are stacked about.
Bear well in mind these tools of war, they make
Easy and sure the work we undertake.

ALCÆUS PROPOSES A MORNING SAIL

A newly dis-
covered frag-
ment of
Alcæus, trans-
lated by
Edmonds,
*Classical
Review*, xxiii.
72-4.
The scene is
a window
opening on a
harbor
in the fore-
noon of a hot
summer day.
Alcæus urges
his friend
to come out
for a sail.

Mix no more into the great bowl. Why toilest so,
when I tell thee that never will I have thee waste the day
from dawn onward in drunkenness and song? O why do we
forbear to use the sea, suffering the winter-cool freshness
of the morn to pass like a drunken sleep? If we would
but quickly go aboard, and take the rudder in our grasp,
and loose the ship from her moorings, turning the sailyard
to front the breeze, then merrier should we be and light
of heart, and 'twould be as good work as a right long
draught of wine. But thou, linking one idle hand in an-
other over thy robe, sayest, As for me, bring myrrh
for my head; for I am little pleased with what this fellow
putteth into song of his. Never think thou troublest my
soul, thou wild clamorer, thou roarest like a great fire.

The friend
is too lazy
to budge.

IV. SELECTIONS FROM SAPPHO

MNASIDICA, A SOMETIME PUPIL OF SAPPHO

Atthis, our beloved Mnasidica dwells in far-off Sardis, but she often sends her thoughts hither, recalling how once we used to live in the days when she thought thee like a glorious goddess, and loved thy song the best. Now she shines among the dames of Lydia, as after sunset the stars that are about her, when she spreads her light o'er briny sea and eke o'er flowery field, while the good dew lies on the ground and the roses revive and the dainty anthrisc and the honey lotus with all its blooms. And oftentimes when our beloved, wandering abroad, calls to mind her gentle Atthis, the heart devours her tender breast with the pain of longing; and she cries aloud for us to come thither; and what she says we know full well, thou and I, for Night, the many-eared, calls it to us across the dividing sea.

A newly discovered fragment of Sappho, translated by Edmonds, *Classical Review*, xxiii. 99 ff. Sappho addresses Atthis, a present pupil, regarding Mnasidica, a former pupil, who has married a Lydian grandee.

Telepathy.

HYMN TO APHRODITE

Glittering-throned, immortal Aphrodite,
Wile-weaving daughter of high Zeus, I pray thee,
Tame not my soul with heavy woes; dread mistress,
Nay, nor with anguish.

Translated by Symonds.

But hither come, if erst in the days departed
Thou didst incline and listendst to my crying,
And from thy father's palace, down descending
Cam'st with the golden

The stanza is Sapphic, named after Sappho; the translation has the metre of the original.

Chariot yoked. Thee fair, swift-flying sparrows,
Over black earth multitudinously fluttering,
Pinion on pinion through middle ether
Down from heaven hurried;

Sappho; *Greece*, 90; *Ancient World*, 154.

146 The Poets and the Philosophers

Quickly they came like light; and thou, blest lady,
Smiling with clear, undying eyes didst ask me
What was the woe that troubled me and wherefore
Now I had called thee;

What I fain would have to assuage the torment
Of my frenzied soul; and whom now, to please thee,
Must persuasion lure to thy love, and who now,
Sappho, hath wronged thee?

Come to me now, too, and from tyrannous sorrow
Free me; and all things that my soul desires to
Have done, do for me, Queen, and let thyself now, too,
Be my great ally!

V. PINDAR

HIERON'S VICTORY IN THE HORSE-RACE AT OLYMPIA

**Most splendid of games
are the
Olympic.**

Pindar,
Olympian, i.

Greece, 91 f.;
*Ancient
World*, 154.

Hieron is
tyrant of
Syracuse.

Pherenicus
("Victor")
is the horse
that won;
Pisa is here
used for
Olympia; the
Alpheus flows
by Olympia.

Best is Water of all, and Gold as a flaming fire in the night shineth eminent amid lordly wealth; but if of prizes in the games thou art fain, O my soul, to tell, then, as thou must search in the void firmament by day for no bright star more quickening than the sun, so neither shall we find any games greater than the Olympic whereof to utter our voice; for hence cometh the glorious hymn and entereth into the minds of the skilled in song, so that they celebrate the son of Cronos, when to the rich and happy hearth of Hieron they are come; for he wieldeth the sceptre of justice in Sicily of many flocks, culling the choice fruits of all kinds of excellence; and with the flower of music is he made splendid, even such strains as we sing blithely at the table of a friend.

Take from the peg the Dorian lute, if in any wise the glory of Pherenicus at Pisa hath swayed thy soul unto glad thoughts, when by the banks of Alpheus he ran,

and gave his body ungoaded in the course, and brought victory to his master, the Syracusans' king, who delighteth in horses. . . .

Now the good that cometh of to-day is ever sovereign unto every man. My part it is to crown Hieron with an equestrian strain in Æolian mood; and sure I am that no host among men that are now shall I ever glorify in sounding labyrinths of song more learned in the learning of honor and withal with more might to work thereto. A god hath guard over thy hopes, O Hieron, and taketh care for them with a peculiar care; and if he fail thee not, I trust that I shall again proclaim in song a sweeter glory yet, and find thereto in words a ready way, when to the fair-shining hill of Cronos I am come. Her strongest-winged dart my Muse hath yet in store.

Of many kinds is the greatness of men; but the highest is to be achieved by kings. Look not thou for more than this. May it be thine to walk loftily all thy life, and mine to be the friend of winners in the games, winning honor for my art among Hellenes everywhere.

Hieron a fit subject for song.

The hill of Cronos overlooks the stadium at Olympia.

In this poem Hieron is called a king.

VI. THALES

He asserted that water was the principle of all things, and that the world had life, and was full of spirits: they say, too, that he was the original definer of the seasons of the year, and that it was he who divided the year into three hundred and sixty-five days. And he never had any teacher except during the time that he was in Egypt, and associated with the priests. Hieronymus also says that he measured the Pyramids; watching their shadows, and calculating when they were of the same size as those were. . . .

The first Greek scientist.

Diogenes Laertius, *Thales*, 6.

Greece, 94 f.; *Ancient World*, 154 f.

An unpractical philosopher.

Diog. Laert. 8.

It is said that once he was led out of his house by an old woman for the purpose of observing the stars, and he fell into a ditch and bewailed himself, on which the old woman said to him—"Do you, O Thales, who can not see what is under your feet, think that you shall understand what is in heaven?" . . .

His wise sayings.

Ib. 9.

And the following are quoted as sayings of his:—"God is the most ancient of all things, for he has no birth: the world is the most beautiful of all things, for it is the work of God: place is the greatest of things, for it contains all things: intellect is the swiftest of things, for it runs through all things; necessity is the strongest of things, for it rules everything: time is the wisest of things, for it finds out everything." He said also that there was no difference between life and death. "Why, then," said some one to him, "do you not die?" "Because," said he, "it makes no difference." A man asked him which was made first, night or day, and he replied, "Night was made first by one day." Another man asked him whether a man who did wrong, could escape the notice of the Gods. "No, not even if he thinks wrong," said he. . . . When he was asked what was very difficult, he said, "To know one's self." And what was easy, "To advise another." What was most pleasant? "To be successful." To the question, "What is the divinity?" he replied, "That which has neither beginning or end." When asked what hard thing he had seen, he said, "An old man a tyrant." When the question was put to him how a man might most easily endure misfortune, he said, "If he saw his enemies more unfortunate still!" When asked how men might live most virtuously and most justly, he said, "If we never do ourselves what we blame in others." To the question, "Who is happy, he made answer, "He who is healthy in his

body, easy in his circumstances, and well-instructed in mind."

VII. PYTHAGORAS

The Pythagoreans called music philosophy. They maintained that the world subsisted by harmony, and considered every kind of music to be the work of the gods. It is thus that the muses are regarded as deities, and Apollo has the name of President of the Muses, and all poetry is divine, being conversant about the praises of the gods. Thus also they ascribe to music the formation of manners, as everything which refines the mind approximates to the power of the gods.

His theory of music.

Strabo x. 3. 10.

Greece, 95;
Ancient
World, 155.

And as he was a young man, and devoted to learning, he quitted his country, and got initiated into all the Grecian and barbarian sacred mysteries. Accordingly, he went to Egypt, on which occasion Polycrates gave him a letter of introduction to Amasis; and he learned the Egyptian language, as Antiphon tells us, in his treatise on those men who have been conspicuous for virtue, and he associated with the Chaldæans and with the Magi.

His travels.

Diogenes
Laertius,
Pythagoras,
3.

There is some doubt as to his travelling so extensively.

Afterward he went to Crete, and in company with Epimenides, he descended into the Idæan cave, and in Egypt he entered into the holiest parts of their temples, and learned all the most sacred mysteries that relate to their gods. Then he returned again to Samos; and finding his country reduced under the absolute dominion of Polycrates, he set sail, and fled to Croton in Italy. And there, having given laws to the Italians, he gained a very high reputation, together with his scholars, who were about three hundred in number, and governed the republic in a most excellent manner; so that the constitution was very nearly an aristocracy.

Initiated into the Oriental mysteries.

Id.

He founds a school.

**He believes
in the trans-
migration of
souls.**

Ib. 4.

Heraclides Ponticus says, that he was accustomed to speak of himself in this manner: that he had formerly been Æthalides, and had been accounted the son of Hermes; and that Hermes had desired him to select any gift he pleased except immortality. He accordingly requested that, whether living or dead, he might preserve the memory of what had happened to him. While, therefore, he was alive he recollected everything; and when he was dead, he retained the same memory. And at a subsequent period he passed into Euphorbus, and was wounded by Menelaus. And while he was Euphorbus, he used to say that he had formerly been Æthalides; and that he had received as a gift from Hermes the perpetual transmigration of his soul, so that it was constantly transmigrating and passing into whatever plants or animals it pleased; and he had also received the gift of knowing and recollecting all that his soul had suffered in the lower world, and what sufferings too are endured by the rest of the souls. . . .

**He recog-
nizes an old
friend.**

Xenophanes,
quoted by
Diog. Laert.
Pythag. 15.

They say that once, as passing by he saw
A dog severely beaten, he did pity him,
And spoke as follows to the man who beat him:—
“Stop now, and beat him not; since in his body,
Abides the soul of a dear friend of mine,
Whose voice I recognized as he was crying.”

STUDIES

1. What reasons does Callinus give for bravery in battle? What is his idea of the working of fate?
2. Should the Spartans fail in war, what according to Tyrtaeus would be their fate? From this passage describe the offensive and defensive arms of the Spartans. Describe their military formation and manner of fighting.
3. Mention some of the subjects on which Alcæus wrote. How

did he like to pass a winter evening? What weapons filled the armory? Did the Greeks enjoy the same things as we do?

4. What idea do we get of the relation between Sappho and her pupils? between her country and Lydia? What does Sappho ask of Aphrodite? What impression do you get of her poetry from these two selections?

5. Write in your own words the meaning of this selection from Pindar. How does he describe Hieron? What did he think of his own poetry?

6. What scientific discoveries are attributed to Thales? What do the anecdotes aim to teach? What light do his wise sayings throw on his character?

7. What importance did Pythagoras attach to music? Why should we not accept everything Diogenes tells us as to the travels of this philosopher? What account did he give of his soul before it had entered his body?

CHAPTER XV

THE IONIC REVOLT

I. THE BEGINNING

Aristagoras determines to revolt, 499 B.C.

Herodotus v. 36.

On Aristagoras and Histiaëus; *Greece*, 110 f.; *Ancient World*, 160.

Hecataëus was a geographer and writer of *Genealogies*, chiefly mythical.

Aristagoras, in combination with the Persians, had just failed in an attempt to conquer Naxos; *Ancient World*, 160.

HE (Aristagoras) took counsel therefore with his partisans, declaring to them both his own opinion and the message from Histiaëus; and while all the rest expressed an opinion to the same effect, urging him namely to make revolt, Hecataëus, the writer of genealogies, urged first that they should not undertake war with the king of the Persians, describing all the nations over whom Darius was ruler, and his power; and when he did not succeed in persuading him, he counselled next that they should manage to make themselves masters of the sea. Now this, he continued, could not come to pass in any other way, so far as he could see, for he knew that the force of the Milesians was weak; but if the treasures should be taken which were in the temple at Branchidæ, which Croesus the Lydian dedicated as offerings, he had great hopes that they might become masters of the sea; and by this means they would not only themselves have wealth at their disposal, but the enemy would not be able to carry the property off as plunder. Now these treasures were of great value, as I have shown in the first part of the history. This opinion did not prevail; but nevertheless it was resolved that they should revolt, and that one of them should sail to Myus, to the force which had returned from Naxos and was then there, and endeavor to seize the commanders who sailed in the ships.

So Iatragoras was sent for this purpose and seized by craft Oliatus the son of Ibanollis of Mylasa, and Histæus the son of Tymnes of Termera, and Coes the son of Erxander, to whom Darius had given Mytilene as a gift, and Aristagoras the son of Heracleides of Cyme, and many others; and then Aristagoras openly made revolt and devised all that he could to the hurt of Darius. And first he pretended to resign the despotic power and give to Miletus equality, in order that the Milesians might be willing to revolt with him; then afterward he proceeded to do this same thing in the rest of Ionia too; and some of the despots he drove out, but those whom he had taken from the ships which had sailed with him to Naxos, these he surrendered, because he desired to do a pleasure to their cities, delivering them over severally to that city from which each one came.

**Beginning of
the revolt.**

Hdt. v. 37 f.

Greece, III-6;
*Ancient
World*, 160-4.

Now the men of Mytilene, as soon as they received Coes into their hands, brought him out and stoned him to death; but the men of Cyme let their tyrant go, and so also most of the others let theirs go. Thus then the tyrants were deposed in the various cities; and Aristagoras the Milesian, after having deposed them, bade each people appoint commanders in their several cities, and then himself set forth as an envoy to Lacedæmon; for in truth it was necessary that he should find out some powerful alliance. . . .

**Fall of the
Ionian
tyrants.**

II. THE ATTEMPT TO WIN ALLIES

However, Aristagoras, the tyrant of Miletus, arrived at Sparta while Cleomenes was reigning; and accordingly with him he came to speech, having, as the Lacedæmonians say, a tablet of bronze, on which was engraved a map of the whole Earth, with all the sea and all the rivers.

**Aristagoras
at Sparta,
winter of
499-498.
Hdt. v. 49.**

And when he came to speech with Cleomenes he said to him as follows:

“Marvel not, Cleomenes, at my earnestness in coming hither, for the case is this. That the sons of the Ionians should be slaves instead of free is a reproach and a grief most of all indeed to ourselves, but of all others most to you, inasmuch as ye are the leaders of Hellas. Now therefore I entreat you by the gods of Hellas to rescue from slavery the Ionians, who are your own kinsmen. And ye may easily achieve this, for the barbarians are not valiant in fight; whereas ye have attained to the highest point of valor in war; and their fighting is of this fashion, namely with bows and arrows and a short spear, and they go into battle wearing trousers and with caps on their heads. Thus they are easily conquered. Then again they who occupy that continent have good things in such quantity as not all the other nations of the world together possess; first gold, then silver and bronze and embroidered garments and beasts of burden and slaves; all of which ye might have for yourselves, if ye so desired. And the nations, moreover, dwell in such order one after the other as I shall declare:—the Ionians here; and next to them the Lydians who not only dwell in a fertile land, but are also exceedingly rich in gold and silver,”—and as he said this he pointed to the map of the Earth, which he carried with him engraved upon the tablet,—“and here next to the Lydians,” continued Aristagoras, “are the Eastern Phrygians, who have the greatest number of sheep and cattle of all people that I know, and also the most abundant crops. Next to the Phrygians are the Cappadocians, whom we call Syrians; and bordering upon them are the Cilicians, coming down to this sea, in which lies the island of Cyprus here; and these pay five hundred talents to

the king for their yearly tribute. Next to these Cilicians are the Armenians, whom thou mayest see here, and these also have great numbers of sheep and cattle. Next to the Armenians are the Matienians occupying this country here; and next to them is the land of Cissia here, in which land by the banks of the river Choaspes is situated that city of Susa where the great king has his residence, and where the money is laid up in treasuries. After ye have taken this city ye may then with good courage enter into a contest with Zeus in the matter of wealth. Nay, but can it be that ye feel yourselves bound to take upon you the risk of battles against Messenians and Arcadians and Argives, who are equally matched against you, for the sake of land which is not much in extent nor very fertile, and for confines which are but small, though these peoples have neither gold nor silver at all, for the sake of which desire incites one to fight, and to die,—can this be, I say, and will ye choose some other way now, when it is possible for you easily to have the rule over all Asia?" Aristagoras spoke thus, and Cleomenes answered him saying: "Guest-friend from Miletus, I defer my answer to thee till the day after tomorrow."

Thus far then they advanced at that time; and when the appointed day arrived for the answer, and they had come to the place agreed upon, Cleomenes asked Aristagoras how many days' journey it was from the sea of the Ionians to the residence of the king. Now Aristagoras, who in other respects acted cleverly and imposed upon him well, in this point made a mistake; for whereas he ought not to have told him the truth, at least if he desired to bring the Spartans out to Asia, he said in fact that it was a journey up from the sea of three months; and the other cutting short the rest of the account which Aristagoras

Too distant
an undertak-
ing for the
Spartans.

Ib. 50.

had begun to give of the way, said, "Guest-friend from Miletus, get thee away from Sparta before the sun has set; for thou speakest a word which sounds not well in the ears of the Lacedæmonians, desiring to take them a journey of three months away from the sea."

The princess Gorgo lays down the moral law.

Ib. 51.

Spartan women; *Greece*, 58, 59; *Ancient World*, 114, 115. The story of Gorgo is interesting in view of the respect paid to women at Sparta.

Cleomenes accordingly having so said went away to his house; but Aristagoras took the suppliant's branch and went to the house of Cleomenes; and having entered in as a suppliant, he bade Cleomenes send away the child and listen to him: for the daughter of Cleomenes was standing by him, whose name was Gorgo, and this it chanced was his only child, being of the age now of eight or nine years. Cleomenes however bade him say that which he desired to say, and not to stop on account of the child. Then Aristagoras proceeded to promise him money, beginning with ten talents, if he would accomplish for him that for which he was asking; and when Cleomenes refused, Aristagoras went on increasing the sums of money offered, until at last he had promised fifty talents, and at that moment the child cried out, "Father the stranger will do thee hurt, if thou do not leave him and go." Cleomenes then, pleased by the counsel of the child, departed into another room, and Aristagoras went away from Sparta altogether, and had no opportunity of explaining any further about the way up from the sea to the residence of the king. . . .

Aristagoras at Athens, 499-498 B.C.

Hdt. v. 97.

While they (the Athenians) had these thoughts and had been set at enmity with the Persians, at this very time Aristagoras the Milesian, ordered away from Sparta by Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian, arrived at Athens; for this was the city which had most power of all the rest besides Sparta. . And Aristagoras came forward before the assembly of the people and said the same things as

he had said at Sparta about the wealth which there was in Asia, and about the Persian manner of making war, how they used neither shield nor spear and were easy to overcome. Thus I say he said, and also he added this, namely that the Milesians were colonists from the Athenians, and that it was reasonable that the Athenians should rescue them, since they had such great power; and there was nothing which he did not promise, being very urgent in his request, until at last he persuaded them; for it would seem that it is easier to deceive many than one, seeing that, though he did not prove able to deceive Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian by himself, yet he did this to thirty thousand Athenians. The Athenians, then, I say, being persuaded, voted a resolution to despatch twenty ships to help the Ionians, and appointed to command them Melanthius, one of their citizens who was in all things highly reputed. These ships proved to be the beginning of evils for the Hellenes and the barbarians. . . .

*Ancient
World*, 81 f.

Aristagoras meanwhile, when the Athenians had arrived with twenty ships, bringing with them also five triremes of the Eretrians, who joined the expedition not for the sake of the Athenians but of the Milesians themselves, to repay them a debt which they owed; for the Milesians in former times had borne with the Eretrians the burden of all that war which they had with the Chalcidians, at the time when the Chalcidians on their side were helped by the Samians against the Eretrians and Milesians. When these, I say, had arrived and the other allies were on the spot, Aristagoras proceeded to make a march upon Sardis. On this march he did not go himself, but remained at Miletus, and appointed others to be in command of the Milesians, namely his brother Charopinus and of the other citizens one Hermophantus.

**The Greeks
march
against
Sardis,
498 B.C.**

Hdt. v. 99.

**The capture
of Sardis.***Ib.* 100.

With this force then the Ionians came to Ephesus; and leaving their ships at Coresus in the land of Ephesus, they went up themselves in a large body, taking Ephesians to guide them in their march. So they marched along by the river Cayster, and then when they arrived after crossing the range of Tmolus, they took Sardis without any resistance, all except the citadel; but the citadel Artaphernes himself saved from capture, having with him a considerable force of men.

**The burning
of Sardis.***Ib.* 101.*Greece*, 113 f.;*Ancient**World*, 161 f.

From plundering the city after they had taken it they were prevented by this:—the houses in Sardis were mostly built of reeds, and even those of them which were of brick had their roofs thatched with reeds; of these houses one was set on fire by a soldier, and forthwith the fire going on from house to house, began to spread over the whole town. So then as the town was on fire, the Lydians and all the Persians who were in the city being cut off from escape, since the fire was prevailing in the extremities round about them, and not having any way out of the town, flowed together to the market-place and to the river Pactolus, which brings down gold-dust for them from Tmolus, flowing through the middle of their market-place, and then runs out into the river Hermus, and this into the sea. To this Pactolus, I say, and to the market-place the Lydians and the Persians gathered themselves together, and were compelled to defend themselves. The Ionians, then, seeing some of the enemy standing on their defence and others in great numbers coming on to the attack, were struck with fear and retired to the mountain called Tmolus, and afterward at nightfall departed to go to their ships.

III. THE SIEGE AND DESTRUCTION OF MILETUS

The Persians, then, being conquerors of the Ionians in the sea-fight, besieged Miletus by land and sea, undermining the walls and bringing against it all manner of engines; and they took it completely in the sixth year from the revolt of Aristagoras, and reduced the people to slavery; so that the disaster agreed with the oracle which had been uttered with reference to Miletus.

For when the Argives were inquiring at Delphi about the safety of their city, there was given to them an oracle which applied to both, that is to say, part of it had reference to the Argives themselves, while that which was added afterward referred to the Milesians. The part of it which had reference to the Argives I will record when I reach that place in the history, but that which the Oracle uttered with reference to the Milesians who were not there present, is as follows:

“And at that time, O Miletus, of evil deeds the contriver,
Thou shalt be made for many a glorious gift and a banquet;
Then shall thy wives be compelled to wash the feet of the long-haired,
And in Didyma then my shrine shall be tended by others.”

At the time of which I speak, these things came upon the Milesians, since most of the men were killed by the Persians, who are long-haired, and the women and children were dealt with as slaves; and the temple at Didyma, with the sacred building and the sanctuary of the Oracle, was first plundered and then burnt. Of the things in this temple I have made mention frequently in other parts of the history.

After this the Milesians who had been taken prisoner

Miletus besieged.

Herodotus vi. 18

This naval battle was fought off Lade; *Ancient World*, 162; *Greece*, 114.

An oracle.

Hdt. vi. 19.

The fate of
the Milesians.

Ib. 20.

were conducted to Susa; and king Darius did to them no other evil, but settled them upon the sea called Erythræan, in the city of Ampe, by which the Tigris flows when it runs out into the sea. Of the Milesian land the Persians themselves kept the surroundings of the city and the plain, but the heights they gave to the Carians of Pedasa for a possession.

Effect on the
Athenians.

Ib. 21.

When the Milesians suffered this treatment from the Persians, the men of Sybaris, who were dwelling in Laos and Scidros, being deprived of their own city, did not repay like with like; for when Sybaris was taken by the men of Croton, the Milesians all from youth upwards shaved their heads and put on great mourning; for these cities were more than all others of which we know bound together by ties of friendship. Not like the Sybarites were the Athenians; for these made it clear that they were grieved at the capture of Miletus, both in many other ways and also by this, that when Phrynichus had composed a drama called the "*Capture of Miletus*" and had put it on the stage, the body of spectators fell to weeping, and the Athenians moreover fined the poet a thousand drachmas on the ground that he had reminded them of their own calamities; and they ordered also that no one in future should represent this drama.

STUDIES

1. What motive had Aristagoras to revolt (cf. *Greece*, III; *Ancient World*, 160)? What was the advice of Hecataeus? Why were the tyrants now deposed?

2. Why did Aristagoras go to Sparta for aid? By what arguments did he try to persuade Cleomenes? What had he to say of the Persians? Why did he give the king a lesson in geography? Why were the Lacedæmonians unwilling to attempt the conquest of Asia? What part had Gorgo in the negotiations, and what idea do we get

from it of the Spartan girl? Why were the Athenians more easily persuaded? What does Herodotus think of the war? Describe the houses of Sardis.

3. How did the Persians punish Miletus for revolt? What is the meaning of the oracle? Are we certain that it was given before the event? How did the fall of Miletus affect the Athenians? Where did Herodotus probably get his information as to these events, and how trustworthy is it?

CHAPTER XVI

THE WAR BETWEEN GREECE AND PERSIA

I. THE INVASION OF DATIS AND ARTAPHERNES

Darius plans to subdue Hellas.

Herodotus vi. 94.

After the destruction of Sardis Darius had ordered a servant to admonish him daily to "remember the Athenians."

Mardonius had failed in an expedition against Greece; *Greece*, 118 f.; *Ancient World*, 166 f.

Athens sends to Sparta for aid.

Hdt. vi. 105.

The Persians had already taken Eretria; *Ancient World*, 167.

So the Athenians were at war with the Eginetans; and meanwhile the Persian was carrying forward his design, since he was put in mind ever by his servant to remember the Athenians, and also because the sons of Peisistratus were near at hand and brought charges continually against the Athenians, while at the same time Darius himself wished to take hold of this pretext and subdue those nations of Hellas which had not given him earth and water. Mardonius then, since he had fared miserably in his expedition, he removed from his command; and appointing other generals to command, he despatched them against Eretria and Athens, namely Datis, who was a Mede by race, and Artaphernes the son of Artaphernes, a nephew of the king; and he sent them forth with the charge to reduce Athens and Eretria to slavery and to bring back the slaves into his presence. . . .

First of all, while they were still in the city the generals sent off to Sparta a herald, namely Pheidippides an Athenian, a runner of long day-courses and one who practised this as his profession. With this man, as Pheidippides himself said and as he made report to the Athenians, Pan chanced to meet by Mount Parthenion, which is above Tegea; and calling aloud the name of Pheidippides, Pan bade him report to the Athenians and ask for what reason they had no care of him, though he was well

disposed to the Athenians and had been serviceable to them on many occasions before that time, and would be so also yet again. Believing that this tale was true, the Athenians, when their affairs had now been prosperously settled, established under the Acropolis a temple of Pan, and in consequence of this message they propitiate him with sacrifice offered every year and with a torch-race.

In a cave on the north declivity.

However at that time, the time namely when he said that Pan appeared to him, this Pheidippides having been sent by the generals was in Sparta on the next day after that on which he left the city of the Athenians; and when he had come to the magistrates he said: "Lacedæmonians, the Athenians make request of you to come to their help and not to allow a city most anciently established among the Hellenes to fall into slavery by means of barbarians; for even now Eretria has been enslaved and Hellas has become the weaker by a city of renown." He, as I say, reported to them that with which he had been charged and it pleased them well to come to help the Athenians; but it was impossible for them to do so at once, since they did not desire to break their law; for it was the ninth day of the month and on the ninth day they said they would not go forth, nor until the circle of the moon should be full.

Pheidippides appeals to the Lacedæmonians.

Hdt. vi. 106.

On Marathon; *Greece*, 120-2; *Ancient World*, 167-70.

Now the opinions of the generals of the Athenians were divided, and the one party urged that they should not fight a battle, seeing that they were few to fight with the army of the Medes, while the others, and among them Miltiades, advised that they should do so; and when they were divided and the worse opinion was like to prevail, then, since he who had been appointed by lot to be polemarch of the Athenians had a vote in addition to the ten (for in old times the Athenians gave the polemarch an equal vote with the generals) and at that time the pole-

The Athenian generals deliberate.

Hdt. vi. 109.

At this time the polemarch was elected, not appointed by lot; p. 128 above.

march was Callimachus of the deme of Aphidnæ, to him came Miltiades and said as follows: "With thee now it rests, Callimachus, either to bring Athens into slavery, or by making her free to leave behind thee for all the time that men shall live a memorial such as not even Harmodius and Aristogeiton have left. For now the Athenians have come to a danger the greatest to which they have ever come since they were a people; and on the one hand, if they submit to the Medes, it is determined what they shall suffer, being delivered over to Hippias, while on the other hand, if this city shall gain the victory it may become the first of the cities of Hellas. How this may happen and how it comes to thee of all men to have the decision of these matters, I am now about to tell. Of us the generals, who are ten in number, the opinions are divided, the one party urging that we fight a battle and the others that we do not fight. Now if we do not, I expect that some great spirit of discord will fall upon the minds of the Athenians and so shake them that they shall go over to the Medes; but if we fight a battle before any unsoundness appear in any part of the Athenian people, then we are able to gain the victory in the fight, if the gods grant equal conditions. These things then all belong to thee, and depend upon thee; for if thou attach thyself to my opinion, thou hast both a fatherland which is free and a native city which shall be the first among the cities of Hellas; but if thou choose the opinion of those who are earnest against fighting, thou shalt have the opposite of those good things of which I have told thee."

The generals resolve to fight.

Hdt. vi. 110.

Thus speaking Miltiades gained Callimachus to his side; and the opinion of the polemarch being added, it was thus determined to fight a battle. After this, those generals whose opinion was in favor of fighting, as the turn

of each one of them to command for the day came round, gave over their command to Miltiades; and he, accepting it, would not yet however bring about a battle, until his own turn to command had come.

And when it came round to him, then the Athenians were drawn up for battle in the order which here follows:—

On the right wing the polemarch Callimachus was leader (for the custom of the Athenians was this, that the polemarch should have the right wing); and he leading, next after him came the tribes in order as they were numbered one after the other, and last were drawn up the Plataeans occupying the left wing; for ever since this battle, when the Athenians offer sacrifices in the solemn assemblies which are made at the four-yearly festivals, the herald of the Athenians prays thus, “that blessings may come to the Athenians and to the Plataeans both.” On this occasion however, when the Athenians were being drawn up at Marathon, something of this kind was done:—their army being made equal in length of front to that of the Medes, came to be drawn up in the middle with a depth of but a few ranks, and here their army was weakest, while each wing was strengthened with numbers.

The order of battle.

Ib. 111.

And when they had been arranged in their places and the sacrifices proved favorable, then the Athenians were let go, and they set forth at a run to attack the barbarians. Now the space between the armies was not less than eight furlongs; and the Persians seeing them advancing to the attack at a run, made preparations to receive them; and in their minds they charged the Athenians with madness which must be fatal, seeing that they were few and yet were pressing forward at a run, having neither cavalry nor archers. Such was the thought of the barbarians; but the Athenians, when all in a body they had joined

The charge.

Ib. 112.

in combat with the barbarians, fought in a memorable fashion; for they were the first of all the Hellenes about whom we know who went to attack the enemy at a run, and they were the first also who endured to face the Median garments and the men who wore them, whereas up to this time the very name of the Medes was to the Hellenes a terror to hear.

The Persian route.

Ib. 113.

Now while they fought in Marathon, much time passed by; and in the centre of the army, where the Persians themselves and the Sacans were drawn up, the barbarians were winning,—here, I say, the barbarians had broken up the ranks of their opponents and were pursuing them inland, but on both wings the Athenians and the Platæans severally were winning the victory; and being victorious they left that part of the barbarians which had been routed to fly without molestation; and bringing together the two wings they fought with those who had broken their centre, and the Athenians were victorious. So they followed after the Persians as they fled, slaughtering them, until they came to the sea; and then they called for fire and began to take hold of the ships.

The slain.

Ib. 114.

Cynegeirus was a brother of Æschylus, the great dramatic poet.

Attempt to surprise Athens.

Ib. 115.

In this part of the work was slain the polemarch Callimachus after having proved himself a good man, and also one of the generals, Stesilaus the son of Thrasylaus, was killed; and besides this Cynegeirus the son of Euphotion, while taking hold there of the ornament at the stern of a ship, had his hand cut off with an axe and fell; and many others also of the Athenians who were men of note were killed.

Seven of the ships the Athenians got possession of in this manner, but with the rest the barbarians pushed off from land, and after taking the captives from Eretria off the island where they had left them, they sailed around

Sunion, purposing to arrive at the city before the Athenians. An accusation became current among the Athenians to the effect that they formed this design by contrivance of the Alcmeonidæ; for these, it was said, having concerted matters with the Persians, displayed to them a shield when they had now embarked in their ships.

These then, I say, were sailing round Sunion; and meanwhile the Athenians came to the rescue back to the city as speedily as they could, and they arrived there before the barbarians came; and having arrived from the temple of Heracles at Marathon they encamped at another temple of Heracles, namely that which is in Cynosarges. The barbarians however came and lay with their ships in the sea which is off Phaleron, (for this was then the seaport of the Athenians); they anchored their ships, I say, off this place, and then proceeded to sail back to Asia.

In this fight at Marathon there were slain of the barbarians about six thousand four hundred men, and of the Athenians a hundred and ninety and two. Such was the number which fell on both sides. . . .

The shield is said to have been hoisted on the summit of Mount Pentelicus, which overlooks the battlefield.

The attempt is checked.

Ib. 116.

Losses in men.

Ib. 117.

II. GREEK PREPARATIONS FOR ANOTHER INVASION

When those Hellenes who had the better mind about Hellas came together to one place, and considered their affairs and interchanged assurances with one another, then deliberating together they thought it well first of all things to reconcile the enmities and bring to an end the wars which they had with one another. Now there were wars engaged between others also, and especially between the Athenians and the Eginetans. After this, being informed that Xerxes was with his army at Sardis, they determined to send spies to Asia to make observation of

A session of the Hellenic council, . . . winter of 481-480 B.C.

Herodotus vii. 145. *Ancient World*, 172 f. On the council (congress) of the Peloponnesian League, see *Ancient World*, 121.

Greece, 137 f.; Ancient World, 179. the power of the king; and moreover they resolved to send envoys to Argos to form an alliance against the Persian, and to send others to Sicily to Gelon the son of Deinomenes and also to Corcyra, to urge them to come to the assistance of Hellas, and others again to Crete; for they made it their aim that if possible the Hellenic race might unite in one, and that they might join all together and act toward the same end, since dangers were threatening all the Hellenes equally. Now the power of Gelon was said to be great, far greater than any other Hellenic power.

Greek spies at Sardis.

Hdt. vii. 146.

When they had thus resolved, they reconciled their enmities and then sent first three men as spies to Asia. These having come to Sardis and having got knowledge about the king's army, were discovered, and after having been examined by the generals of the army were being led off to die. For these men, I say, death had been determined; but Xerxes, being informed of this, found fault with the decision of the generals and sent some of the spearmen of his guard, enjoining them, if they should find the spies yet alive, to bring them to his presence. So having found them yet surviving, they brought them into the presence of the king; and thereupon Xerxes, being told for what purpose they had come, commanded the spearmen to lead them round and to show them the whole army both foot and horse, and when they should have had their fill of looking at these things, to let them go unhurt to whatsoever land they desired.

Xerxes is confident of his own superiority.

Ib. 147.

Such was the command which he gave, adding at the same time this saying, namely that if the spies had been put to death, the Hellenes would not have been informed beforehand of his power, how far beyond description it was; while on the other hand by putting to death three

men they would not very greatly have damaged the enemy; but when these returned back to Hellas, he thought it likely that the Hellenes, hearing of his power, would deliver up their freedom to him themselves, before the expedition took place which was being set in motion; and thus there would be no need for them to have the labor of marching an army against them. This opinion of his is like his manner of thinking at other times; for when Xerxes was in Abydos, he saw vessels which carried corn from the Pontus sailing out through the Hellespont on their way to Egina and the Peloponnese. Those then who sat by his side, being informed that the ships belonged to the enemy, were prepared to capture them, and were looking to the king to see when he would give the word; but Xerxes asked about them whither the men were sailing, and they replied: "Master, to thy foes, conveying to them corn": he then made answer and said, "Are we not also sailing to the same place as these men, furnished with corn as well as with other things necessary? How then do these wrong us, since they are conveying provisions for our use?"

III. THE BATTLE OF SALAMIS

From Susa, from Ecbatana they went,
From the ancient Cissian fortress were they sent—
Seamen, riders upon horses,
Steady-tramping footman-forces
Close-marshalled in the battle-armament.

**Marshalling
the Persian
host.**

*Æschylus,
Persians.*

Amistres, Artaphernes, led them on:
Megabates and Astaspes forth are gone,
Persian kings and princes royal,
And the Great King's vassals loyal,
Chiefs that weld his thousand armies into one.

**Com-
manders.**

170 The War Between Greece and Persia

- Archers and oarsmen.** There are bow-triumphant archers, there are riders of the steed,
Men terrible to look on, men dread in battle-deed
 In the grim determination of a spirit hot for war. . . .
There be they that mighty Nile sent forth, the nation-nursing
 flood— . . .
The marshmen they that row the rafts that skim the river-slime,
Men cunning in the oarsman's craft, a multitude untold.
- Lydians.** And the dainty-living Lydians followed with their battle-throng,
They which people all the mainland; and Mitrogahtes the strong
And Arcteus led them onward, each a satrap and a king.
There were gold-abounding Sardians, and their chariot-riders pressed
Swiftly on, with chariot-horses yoked by two, by three abreast—
A sight of terror to the eyes that marked their marshalling.

Came the borderers on Tmolus the hallowed, all aglow
Around the neck of Hellas the bondage-yoke to throw:
There were Tharubis and Mardon, stubborn anvils of the spear;
There were Mysian javelin-hurlers: gold-abounding Babylon
Sent forth a mingled multitude in long lines sweeping on,
Riders on the sea-steeds, trusty archers void of fear.
- All Asia.** And the people of all Asia, wielders of the scimitar,
Have followed the dread summons of the Great King to the war.
Oh, the flower of all the Persian realm hath vanished from our gaze:
And all the land of Asia which hath fostered them doth sigh;
With the passion of the yearning of bereavement doth she cry;
And the wives and mothers shudder as they count the weary days.

For the army of the king, for the city-wasting host
Long since hath passed the channel of the fronting neighbor-coast;
Bridging the Hellespont. For they linked the rafts together with the cables cunningly,
So that Hellas' strait was spanned,
Land was riveted to land,
And man had cast a yoke upon the wild neck of the sea!
- The king.** And myriad-peopled Asia's King, a battle-eager lord,
From utmost east to utmost west sped on his countless horde
In unnumbered squadrons marching, in fleets of keels untold,
 Knowing none dared disobey,
 For stern overseers were they
Of the godlike king begotten of the ancient Race of Gold.

And flashing from his eyes the deadly dragon's steel-blue glance
On Assyrian battle-car,
With unnumbered men of war
He hurls the war-god of the bow on the heroes of the lance.

Heroes?—none is so heroic as to stem that warrior-flood!
Not their strongest dams shall bide
Such resistless ocean-tide:—
Nay, Persia's valiant myriads shall in no wise be withstood.

Yet—God sendeth strong delusions, and what mortal may evade
them?

**Foreboding
of failure.**

And who with foot light-leaping may spring clear of the snare?
For Ate smiles alluring men, until she hath betrayed them
Amidst her net: none breaks its meshes, once entangled there.

Ate, reckless
infatuation,
which brings
ruin.

For the Gods' doom all-controlling decreed this long ago—
'Persia's sons shall win renown
In dashing towers down,
In the clash of charging horsemen, and in cities' overthrow.'

Yet they learned to look unquailing on the highways of the sea,
When the flails of tempest smite,
And its meadows blossom white,
Grasping slender reins of army-wafting galleys fearlessly. . . .

Atossa—Is there found with them so vast a multitude for war's
array?

Dialogue.

Chorus—Yea, such armed host as many an evil once to Media
wrought.

Atossa is
mother of
Xerxes; the
Chorus is
composed of
Persian elders
left in charge
of the realm
during the
king's ab-
sence.

Atos. Have they aught worth warrior-warding—homes with store
of wealth full-fraught?

Chor. Silver have they, yea, a very fountain, treasure of their land.

Atos. And their weapons—are they cunning archers straining bow
in hand?

Chor. Nay, but foot to foot in fight they close with spear and clash-
ing shield.

They are
speaking
about the
Greeks.

Atos. And their shepherd—who is lord and king of these in fighting
field?

Chor. No man's servants do they name them, they are subject to
none. . . .

The Greek
government.

*Messenger***The battle.**

The messenger is a Persian, who brings news of the battle to the queen and chorus.

Greece, 132-4;
Ancient World, 175-7.

The deception here mentioned was the work of Themistocles. Æschylus refrains from mentioning Greeks by name.

'Twas this began all our disaster, Queen:
A demon or fell fiend rose—who knows whence?—
For from the Athenian host a Hellene came,
And to thy son, to Xerxes, told this tale,
That when the mirk of black night should be come,
The Greeks would not abide, but, leaping straight
Upon the galley thwarts, this way and that
In stealthy flight would seek to save their lives.
Soon as he heard, discerning neither guile
In that Greek, nor the jealousy of heaven,
This word to all his captains he proclaims,
That, when the sun should cease to scorch the earth,
And gloom should fill the hallowed space of sky,
In three lines should they range their throng of ships
To guard each pass, each seaward-surfing strait;
And others should enring all Aias' Isle:
Since, if the Greeks should yet escape fell doom,
And find their ships some privy path of flight,
Doomed to the headsman all these captains were.
Thus spake he, in spirit over-confident,
Knowing not what the Gods would bring to pass.
With hearts obedient, in no disarray,
Then supped our crews, and every mariner
To the well-rounded rowlock lashed his oar.
But when the splendor faded of the sun,
And night came on, each master of the oar
A-shipboard went, and every man-at-arms.
Then rank to rank of long ships passed the word:
And, as was each appointed, so they sailed.
So all night long the captains of the ships
Kept all the sea-host sailing to and fro.
And night passed by, yet did the Hellene host
Essay in no wise any secret flight.
But when the day by white steeds chariot-borne,
Radiant to see, flooded all earth with light,
First from the Hellenes did a clamorous shout
Ring for a triumphant chant; and wild and high
Pealed from the island rock the answering cheer

Of Echo. Thrilled through all our folks dismay
Of baffled expectation; for the Greeks
Not as for flight that holy pæan sang,
But straining battleward with heroic hearts.
The trumpet's blare set all their lines aflame.
Straightway with chiming dip of dashing oars
They smote the loud brine to the timing cry,
And suddenly flashed they all full into view.
Foremost their right wing seemly-ordered led
In fair array; next, all their armament
Battleward swept on. Therewithal was heard
A great shout—'On ye sons of Hellas, on!
Win for the home-land freedom!—freedom win
For sons, wives, temples of ancestral Gods,
And old sires' graves! This day are all at stake!'
Yea, and from us low thunder of Persian cheers
Answered—no time it was for dallying!
Then straightway galley dashed her beak of bronze
On galley. 'Twas a Hellene ship began
The onset, and shore all the figure-head
From a Phœnician: captain charged on captain.
At first the Persian navy's torrent-flood
Withstood them; but when our vast fleet was cramped
In strait-space—friend could lend no aid to friend,—
Then ours by fangs of allies' beaks of bronze
Were struck, and shattered all their oar-array;
While with shrewd strategy the Hellene ships
Swept around, and rammed us, and upturned were hulls
Of ships;—no more could one discern the sea,
Clogged all with wrecks and limbs of slaughtered men:
The shores, the rock-reefs, were with corpses strewn.
Then rowed each bark in fleeing disarray,
Yea, every keel of our barbarian host.
They with oar-fragments and with shards of wrecks
Smote, hacked, as men smite tunnies, or a draught
Of fishes; and a moaning, all confused
With shrieking, hovered wide o'er that sea-brine
Till night's dark presence blotted out the horror.
That swarm of woes, yea, though for ten days' space

174 The War Between Greece and Persia

I should rehearse could I not tell in full.
Yet know this well, that never in one day
Died such a host, such tale untold, of men.

STUDIES

1. Who were the sons of Peisistratus, and what was their motive in urging Darius to war against Greece? What illustrations of the religious beliefs of Athenians and Lacedæmonians do we find in this passage? Why did Athens appeal to Sparta for aid? Explain the official position of the polemarch and his relation to the ten generals? Who were Harmodius and Aristogeiton? By what arguments did Miltiades persuade Callimachus to vote for battle? What contributed most to Athenian victory at Marathon? What were the respective losses, and how can the difference be accounted for?

2. Write out definitely the acts of the council of the Hellenic League (481-0 B.C.). How did Xerxes treat the Greek spies, and why? In what ways did he show confidence in his superiority to the Greeks?

3. Write in your own language Æschylus' description of the Persian armament. What peoples were represented in it? What is said of its power? What information does the chorus give Atossa as to Hellenic warfare and government? How did the Greeks deceive Xerxes as to their own intentions? What plan did Xerxes adopt? Write in your own language Æschylus' account of the battle. What is your impression of his poetry? Is there any reason for believing the selections given in this chapter more reliable than those of the preceding chapter?

CHAPTER XVII

THE DELIAN CONFEDERACY AND THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

I. THE WALLS OF ATHENS ARE REBUILT

IMMEDIATELY after the great war, he (Themistocles) began to rebuild and fortify the city. In order to succeed in this, Theopompus says that he bribed the Spartan ephors into laying aside opposition, but most writers say that he outwitted them by proceeding to Sparta nominally on an embassy. Then when the Spartans complained to him that Athens was being fortified and when Poliarchus came expressly from Ægina to charge him with it, he denied it, and bade them send commissioners to Athens to see whether it was true, wishing both to obtain time for the fortifications to be built, and also to place these commissioners in the hands of the Athenians, as hostages for his own safety. His expectations were realised; for the Lacedæmonians, on discovering the truth, did him no harm, but dissembled anger and sent him away. After this he built Peiræus as he perceived the excellence of its harbors, and was desirous to turn the whole attention of the Athenians to naval pursuits. . . . Themistocles did not "stick Peiræus on to Athens" as Aristophanes the comic poet said, so much as he made the city dependent upon Peiræus, and the land dependent upon the sea. By this means he transferred power from the nobles to the people, because sailors and pilots became the real strength of the state.

**Themis-
tocles out-
wits the
Spartans.**

Plutarch,
Themistocles,
19.

Greece, 143-5;
*Ancient
World*, 182 f.

Theopompus
was a his-
torian who
lived in the
fourth cen-
tury B.C.

**He builds
Peiræus.**

II. THE DELIAN CONFEDERACY IS FORMED

Aristeides.*Aristotle, Constitution of the Athenians, 23.***Objects of the confederacy.***Thucydides, i. 96.**The main object, however, was defence against Persia.***The assessment by Aristeides.***Plutarch, Aristeides, 23.**Ancient World, 184 f.*

It was Aristeides who brought about the defection of the Ionians from the Lacedæmonian alliance, finding his opportunity in the circumstance that the people of Laconia were in ill repute because of Pausanias.

Thus the Athenians by the good-will of the allies, who detested Pausanias, obtained the leadership. They immediately fixed which of the cities should supply money and which of them ships for the war against the barbarians, the avowed object being to compensate themselves and the allies for their losses by devastating the king's country. Then was first instituted at Athens the office of Hellenic treasurers, who received the tribute, for so the impost was termed. . . .

As they wished each city to be assessed to pay a reasonable sum, they asked the Athenians to appoint Aristeides to visit each city, learn the extent of its territory and revenues, and fix upon the amount which each was capable of contributing according to its means. Although he was in possession of such a power as this—the whole of Greece having as it were given itself up to be dealt with at his discretion—yet he laid down his office a poorer man than when he accepted it, but having completed his assessment to the satisfaction of all. As the ancients used to tell of the blessedness of the golden age, even so did the states of Greece honor the assessment made by Aristeides, calling the time when it was made, fortunate and blessed for Greece, especially when no long time afterward it was doubled, and subsequently trebled. The money which Aristeides proposed to raise amounted to four hundred and sixty talents; to which Pericles added nearly a third part, for Thucydides tells us that, at the commencement of the

Peloponnesian war, the Athenians received six hundred talents a year from their allies. After the death of Pericles, the popular orators gradually raised the sum total to thirteen hundred talents. It was not so much that the money was required for the expenses of a long and costly war, as that these men had accustomed the people to largesses of money, dramatic representations, and the erection of statues and temples.

III. CHANGE IN THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CONFEDERACY

At first the allies were independent and deliberated in a common assembly under the leadership of Athens. But in the interval between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, by their military success and by policy in dealing with the barbarian, with their own rebellious allies and with the Peloponnesians who came across their path from time to time, the Athenians made immense strides in power. I have gone out of my way to speak of this period because the writers who have preceded me treat either of Hellenic affairs previous to the Persian invasion or of that invasion itself; the intervening portion of history has been omitted by all of them, with the exception of Hellanicus; and he, where he has touched upon it in his Attic history, is very brief, and inaccurate in his chronology. The narrative will also serve to explain how the Athenian empire grew up.

The causes which led to the defections of the allies were of different kinds, the principal one being their neglect to pay the tribute or to furnish ships, and, in some cases, failure of military service. For the Athenians were exacting and oppressive, using coercive measures toward men who were neither willing nor accustomed to work hard. And for various reasons they soon began to prove

The confederacy transformed into an empire.

Thuc. i. 97.

Greece, 152 f.;
Ancient
World, 186 f.

A historian who wrote shortly before Thucydides.

Causes of the transformation.

Thuc. i. 99.

less agreeable leaders than at first. They no longer fought upon an equality with the rest of the confederates, and they had no difficulty in reducing them when they revolted. Now the allies brought all this upon themselves; for the majority of them disliked military service and absence from home, and so they agreed to contribute a regular sum of money instead of ships. Whereby the Athenian navy was proportionately increased, while they themselves were always untrained and unprepared for war when they revolted.

Imperialism
and democ-
racy go hand
in hand.

Arist. *Const.*
Ath. 24.

Afterwards as the citizens of the (Athenian) state had acquired confidence and a great quantity of money had accumulated, he (Aristeides) advised them to lay hold on the leadership, and to come in from the country and live in the city, assuring them that there would be a livelihood for all,—some serving in the army, others in garrisons, others attending to administrative work,—and that thus they would secure the leadership. Adopting this policy and usurping the imperial power, they began to treat their allies more despotically, with the exception of the Chians, Lesbians, and Samians, whom they retained as guards of their empire, leaving them their own constitutions and the dependencies which they severally chanced to rule. Thus they established for the multitude an abundant supply of provisions, as Aristeides had pointed out; for it resulted that from the tributes and the taxes more than twenty thousand men derived their support.

STUDIES

1. How did Themistocles contrive to have the walls of Athens rebuilt? How did the growth of Peiræus affect Athenian politics?
2. What had Pausanias done to bring ill repute upon the Spartans (*Greece*, 146; *Ancient World*, 184)? What object of the Confederacy

is mentioned? Give an account of the first assessment. What changes were afterward made?

3. What change gradually took place in the constitution of the confederacy? What causes brought it about? Who were more to blame for it, the Athenians or the allies? What criticism does Thucydides make upon Hellanicus? Why did the growth of imperialism and democracy go hand in hand at Athens? Who are the authors of the several selections of this chapter, and what is their relative worth as historians of this period?

CHAPTER XVIII

THE AGE OF PERICLES

I. PERICLES: FAMILY AND EDUCATION

Family and
personal ap-
pearance.

Plutarch,
Pericles, 3.

*Ancient
World*, 137-
41.

The true
reason is that
he was a
general.

PERICLES was descended from the noblest families in Athens, on both his father's and mother's side. His father, Xanthippus, defeated the Persian generals at Mycale, while his mother, Agariste, was a descendant of Cleisthenes, who drove the sons of Peisistratus out of Athens, put an end to their despotic rule, and established a new constitution admirably calculated to reconcile all parties and save the country. . . . His body was symmetrical, but his head was long out of all proportion; hence in nearly all his statues he is represented wearing a helmet, as the sculptors did not wish, I suppose, to reproach him with this blemish. The Attic poets called him squill-head, and the comic poet, Cratinus, in his play "*Cheirones*" says,

From Cronos old and faction,
Is sprung a tyrant dread,
And all Olympus calls him,
The man-compelling head.

Telecleides, too, speaks of him as sitting,

Bowed down,
With a dreadful frown,
Because matters of state have gone wrong,
Until at last,
From his head so vast,
His ideas burst forth in a throng. . . .

It was Anaxagoras of Clazomenæ who had most to do with forming Pericles' style, teaching him an elevation and sublimity of expression beyond that of ordinary popular speakers, and altogether purifying and ennobling his mind. This Anaxagoras was called Intelligence, by the men of that time, either because they admired his own intellect, or because he taught that an abstract intelligence is to be traced in all the concrete forms of matter, and that to this, and not to chance, the universe owes its origin.

His teachers.

Plut. *Per.* 4.

Pericles greatly admired Anaxagoras, and became deeply interested in these grand speculations, which gave him a haughty spirit and a lofty style of oratory far removed from vulgarity and low buffoonery, and also an imperturbable gravity of countenance, and a calmness of demeanor and appearance which no incident could disturb as he was speaking, while the tone of his voice never showed that he heeded any interruption. These advantages greatly impressed the people. Once he sat quietly all day in the market-place despatching some pressing business, reviled in the foulest terms all the while by some low worthless fellow. Towards evening he walked home, the man following him and heaping abuses upon him. When about to enter his own door, as it was dark, he ordered one of his servants to take a torch and light the man home. . . .

His dignified style of oratory.

Ib. 5.

II. HIS STATESMANSHIP

Pericles when young greatly feared the people. He had a certain personal likeness to the despot Peisistratus; and as his own voice was sweet, and he was ready and fluent in speech, old men who had known Peisistratus were struck by his resemblance to him. He was also rich, of noble birth, and had powerful friends, so that he feared he

Reluctant to engage in politics.

Ib. 7.

On ostracism;
Ancient
World, 140 f.

might be banished by ostracism, and consequently held aloof from politics, but proved himself a brave and daring soldier in the wars. But when Aristides was dead, Themistocles banished, and Cimon generally absent on distant campaigns, Pericles engaged in public affairs, taking the popular side, that of the poor and many against that of the rich and few, quite contrary to his own feelings, which were entirely aristocratic.

He takes the
side of the
people.

He feared, it seemed, that he might be suspected of a design to make himself tyrant, and seeing that Cimon took the side of the nobility, and was much beloved by them, he betook himself to the people, as a means of obtaining safety for himself, and a strong party to combat that of Cimon. He immediately altered his mode of life; was never seen in any street except that which led to the market-place and the national assembly, and declined all invitations to dinner and such social gatherings, so utterly that during the whole of his long political life he never dined with one of his friends except when his first cousin, Euryptolemus, was married. On this occasion he sat at table till the libations were poured, upon which he at once got up and went away. For solemnity is wont to unbend at festive gatherings, and a majestic demeanor is hard to keep up when one is in familiar intercourse with others. True virtue, indeed, appears more glorious the more it is seen, and a really good man's life is never so much admired by the outside world as by his own intimate friends. But Pericles feared to make himself too common even with the people, and only addressed them after long intervals—not speaking upon every subject, and not constantly addressing them, but as Critolaus says, keeping himself like the Salaminian trireme for great crises, and allowing his friends and the other orators to manage mat-

The Salaminian trireme was reserved for carrying official messages and important officers and embassies.

ters of less moment. One of these friends is said to have been Ephialtes, who destroyed the power of the Council of the Areopagus, "pouring out" as Plato the comic poet said, "a full and unmixed draught of liberty for the citizens," under the influence of which the poets of the time said that the Athenian people

On the fall of the Council of the Areopagus; *Ancient World*, 189, n. 1; *Greece*, 155 f.

"Nibbled at Eubœa, like a horse that spurns the rein,
And wantonly would leap upon the islands in the main."

Wishing to adopt a style of speaking consonant with his haughty manner and lofty spirit, Pericles made free use of the instrument which Anaxagoras as it were put into his hand, and often tinged his oratory with natural philosophy. He far surpassed all others by using this "lofty intelligence and power of universal consummation," as the divine Plato calls it; in addition to his natural advantages, adorning his oratory with apt illustrations drawn from physical science.

Why he was called the "Olympian."

Plut. *Per.* 8.

For this reason some think that he was nicknamed the Olympian; yet some refer this to his improvement of the city by new and beautiful buildings, and others to his power as a politician and a general. It is not by any means unlikely that these causes all combined to produce the name. Yet the comedies of the time, when they allude to him, either in jest or earnest, always appear to think that this name was given him because of his manner of speaking, for they represent him as "thundering and lightning" and "rolling fateful thunders from his tongue."

On Plato; *Ancient World*, 288 f.

A saying of Thucydides, the son of Melesias, has been preserved, which jestingly testifies to the power of Pericles' eloquence. Thucydides was the leader of the conservative party, and for a long time struggled to hold his own against

Contest with Thucydides.

On this
Thucydides
(not the
historian);
Greece, 170 f.

Stesim-
brotus, a
contemporary
writer.

The Peri-
clean gov-
ernment.

Plut. *Per.* 9.

Greece, 172-
8; *Ancient
World*, 195-8.

Pericles in debate. One day Archidamus, the King of Sparta, asked him whether he or Pericles was the best wrestler. "When I throw him in wrestling," Thucydides answered, "he beats me by proving that he never was down, and by making the spectators believe him." For all this Pericles was very cautious about his words, and whenever he ascended the tribune to speak, used first to pray to the gods that nothing inappropriate to the present occasion might fall from his lips. He left no writings, except the measures which he brought forward, and very few of his sayings are recorded. One of these was, that he called Ægina "the eyesore of the Peiræus" and that "he saw war coming upon Athens from Peloponnesus." Stesimbrotus tells us that when he was pronouncing a public funeral oration over those who fell in Samos, he said that they had become immortal, even as the gods: for we do not see the gods, but we conceive them to be immortal by the respect which we pay them, and the blessings which we receive from them; and the same is the case with those who die for their country.

Thucydides represents the constitution under Pericles as a democracy in name, but really an aristocracy, because the government was all in the hands of one leading citizen. But as many other writers tell us that during his administration the people received grants of land abroad, and were indulged with dramatic entertainments, and payments for their services, in consequence of which they fell into bad habits, and became extravagant and licentious, instead of sober, hard-working people as they had been before, let us consider the history of this change, viewing it by the light of the facts themselves. First of all, as we have already said, Pericles had to measure himself with Cimon, and to transfer the affections of the people from

Cimon to himself. As he was not so rich a man as Cimon, who used from his own ample means to give a dinner daily to any poor Athenian who required it, clothe aged persons, and take away the fences around his property, so that any-one might gather the fruit, Pericles, unable to vie with him in this, turned his attention to a distribution of the public funds among the people, at the suggestion, we are told by Aristotle, of Damonides of Oia. By the money paid for public spectacles, for citizens acting as jurymen and other paid offices, and largesses, he soon won over the people to his side, so that he was able to use them in his attack upon the Council of the Areopagus, of which he himself was not a member, never having been chosen archon, or thesmothete, or king archon, or polemarch. These offices had from ancient times been obtained by lot, and it was only through them that those who had approved themselves in the discharge of them were advanced to the Areopagus. For this reason it was that Pericles, when he gained strength with the populace, destroyed this Senate, making Ephialtes bring forward a bill which restricted its judicial powers, while he himself succeeded in getting Cimon banished by ostracism, as a friend of Sparta and a hater of the people, although he was second to no Athenian in birth or fortune, had won most brilliant victories over the Persians, and had filled Athens with plunder and spoils of war, as will be found related in his life. So great was the power of Pericles with the common people. . . .

*Ancient
World, 126.*

The lot was
introduced
in 487 B.C.;
*Ancient
World, 170.*

III. THE PUBLIC WORKS

The building of the temples, by which Athens was adorned, the people were delighted, and the rest of the world astonished, and which now alone prove that the

**The money
for the
buildings.**

Plutarch,
Pericles, 12.

tales of the ancient power and glory of Greece are no fables, was what particularly excited the spleen of the opposite faction, who inveighed against him in the public assembly, declaring that the Athenians had disgraced themselves by transferring the common treasury of the Greeks from the island of Delos to their own custody. "Pericles himself," they urged, "has taken away the only possible excuse for such an act—the fear that it might be exposed to the attacks of the Persians when at Delos, whereas it would be safe at Athens. Greece has been outraged, and feels itself openly tyrannised over, when it sees us using the funds which we extorted from it for the war against the Persians, for gilding and beautifying our city, as if it were a vain woman, and adorning it with precious marbles, and statues, and temples, worth a thousand talents." To this Pericles replied, that the allies had no right to consider how their money was spent, so long as Athens defended them from the Persians; while they supplied neither horses, ships, nor men, but merely money, which the Athenians had a right to spend as they pleased, provided they afforded them that security which it purchased. It was right, he argued, that after the city had provided all that was necessary for war, it should devote its surplus money to the erection of buildings which would be a glory to it for all ages.

**They furnish
the people
with work.**

At the same time these works would create plenty by leaving no man unemployed, and encouraging all sorts of handicraft, so that nearly the whole city would earn wages, and thus derive both its beauty and its profit from itself. For those who were in the flower of their age, military service offered a means of earning money from the common stock; while as he did not wish the mechanics and the lower classes to be without their

share, nor yet to see them receive it without doing work for it, he had laid the foundations of great edifices which would require industries of every kind to complete them; and he had done this in the interests of the lower classes, who thus although they remained at home, would have just as good a claim to their share of the public funds as those who were serving at sea, in garrison, or in the field. The different materials used, such as stone, brass, ivory, gold, ebony, cypress-wood, and so forth, would require special artisans for each, such as carpenters, modellers, smiths, stone masons, embroiderers, workers in relief; and also men to bring them to the city, such as sailors and captains of ships and pilots for such as came from sea; and for those which came by land, carriage-builders, horse-breeders, drivers, rope-makers, linen manufacturers, shoemakers, road-menders, and miners. Each trade, moreover, employed a number of unskilled laborers, so that in a word, there would be work for persons of every age and every class, and general prosperity would be the result.

These buildings were of immense size, and unequalled in beauty and grace, as the workmen endeavored to make the execution surpass the design in beauty; but what was most remarkable was the speed with which they were built. All these edifices, each of which, one would have thought, it would have taken many generations to complete, were all finished during the most brilliant period of one man's administration. We are told that Zeuxis, hearing Agatharchus the painter boasting how easily and rapidly he could produce a picture, said, "I paint very slowly." Ease and speed of execution seldom produce work of any permanent value or delicacy. It is the time which is spent in laborious production for which we

Artistic appreciation.

Ib. 13.

are repaid by the durable character of the result. And this makes Pericles' work all the more wonderful, because it was built in a short time, and yet has lasted for ages. In beauty each building at once appeared venerable as soon as it was finished; but even at the present day the work looks as fresh as ever, for it blooms with an eternal freshness which defies time, and seems instinct with an unfading spirit of youth.

**Pheidias and
other artists.**

The overseer and manager of the whole was Pheidias, although there were other excellent architects and workmen, such as Callicrates and Ictinus, who built the Parthenon on the site of the old Hecatompedon, which had been destroyed by the Persians, and Corcebus, who began to build the temple of initiation at Eleusis, but who lived only to see the columns erected and the architraves placed upon them. On his death, Metagenes, of Xypete, added the frieze and the upper row of columns, and Xenocles, of Cholargus, crowned it with the domed roof over the shrine. As to the Long Wall, about which Socrates says that he heard Pericles bring forward a motion, Callicrates undertook to build it. Cratinus satirizes the work for being slowly accomplished, saying:

“He builds in speeches, but he does no work.”

The Odeum. The Odeum, which internally consisted of many rows of seats and many columns, and externally of a roof sloping on all sides from a central point, is said to have been an imitation of the king of Persia's tent, and was built under Pericles' direction. For this reason Cratinus alludes to him in his play of the *Thracian Women*—

“Our Zeus with lofty skull appears;
The Odeum on his head he wears,
Because he fears the ostrakon no more.”

Pericles at that period used his influence to pass a decree for establishing a musical competition at the Panathenaic festival; and being himself chosen judge, he laid down rules as to how the candidates were to sing, and play the flute or the harp. At that period and ever afterward all musical contests took place in the Odeum.

The Propylæa, before the Acropolis, was finished in five years, by Mnesicles the architect; and a miraculous incident during the work seemed to show that the goddess did not disapprove, but rather encouraged and assisted the building. The most energetic and active of the workmen fell from a great height, and lay in a dangerous condition, given over by his doctors. Pericles grieved much for him; but the goddess appeared to him in a dream, and suggested a course of treatment by which Pericles quickly healed the workman. In consequence of this, he set up the brazen statue of Athena the healer, near the old altar in the Acropolis. The golden statue of the goddess was made by Pheidias, and his name appears on the base in an inscription. Almost everything was in his hands, and he gave his orders to all the workmen—as we have said before—because of his friendship with Pericles.

The Propylæa.

IV. SELECTIONS FROM SOPHOCLES

When a god sends harm, not even the strong man can escape. For on another day, when chariots were to try their speed at sunrise, he (Orestes) entered, with many charioteers. One was an Achæan, one from Sparta, two masters of yoked cars were Libyans; Orestes, driving Thessalian mares, came fifth among them; the sixth from Ætolia, with chestnut colts; a Magnesian was the seventh; the eighth, with white horses, was of Ænian stock; the

Orestes in the Delphic chariot-race.

Sophocles,
Electra,
696 ff.

On the
national
games;

*Ancient
World*, 89 f.;
Greece, 101-3.

ninth, from Athens, built of Gods; there was a Bœotian too, making the tenth chariot.

They took their stations where the appointed umpires placed them by lot and ranged the cars; then, at the sound of the brazen trump, they started. All shouted to their horses, and shook the reins in their hands; the whole course was filled with the noise of rattling chariots; the dust flew upward; and all, in a confused throng, plied their goads unsparingly, each of them striving to pass the wheels and the snorting steeds of his rivals; for alike at their backs and at their rolling wheels the breath of the horses foamed and smote.

A runaway.

Orestes, driving close to the pillar at either end of the course, almost grazed it with his wheel each time, and giving rein to the trace-horse on the right, checked the horse on the inner side. Hitherto, all the chariots had escaped overthrow; but presently the Ænian's hard-mouthed colts ran away, and swerving, as they passed from the sixth to the seventh round, dashed their foreheads against the team of the Barcæan. Other mishaps followed the first, shock on shock and crash on crash, till the whole race-ground of Crisa was strewn with the wreck of the chariots.

The Bar-
cæan was
from Barca,
Libya.

**Two teams
remain in
the race.**

Seeing this, the wary charioteer from Athens drew aside and paused, allowing the billow of chariots, surging in midcourse, to go by. Orestes was driving last, keeping his horses behind,—for his trust was in the end; but when he saw that the Athenian was alone left in, he sent a shrill cry ringing through the ears of his swift colts, and gave chase. Team was brought level with team, and so they raced,—first one man, then the other, showing his head in front of the chariots.

Hitherto the ill-fated Orestes had passed safely through

every round, steadfast in his steadfast car; at last slackening his left rein while the horse was turning, unawares he struck the edge of the pillar; he broke the axle-box in twain; he was thrown over the chariot-rail; he was caught in the shapely reins; and as he fell on the ground, his colts were scattered into the middle of the course.

But when the people saw him fallen from the car, a cry of pity went up for the youth, who had now done such deeds and was meeting such a doom,—now dashed to earth, now tossed feet uppermost to the sky,—till the charioteers, with difficulty checking the career of his horses, loosed him, so covered with blood that no friend who saw it would have known the hapless corpse. Straightway they burned it on a pyre; and chosen men of Phocis are bringing in a small urn of bronze the sad dust of that mighty form, to find due burial in his fatherland.

**Orestes
killed.**

This false report of his death was told to deceive the hearer. Such fatalities, however, were doubtless not uncommon.

Antigone. Ismene, sister, mine own dear sister, knowest thou what ill there is, of all bequeathed by Ædipus, that Zeus fulfils not for us twain while we live? Nothing painful is there, nothing fraught with ruin, no shame, no dishonor, that I have not seen in thy woes and mine.

And now what new edict is this of which they tell, that our Captain hath just published to all Thebes? Knowest thou aught? Hast thou heard? Or is it hidden from thee that our friends are threatened with the doom of our foes?

Ismene. No word of friends, Antigone, gladsome or painful, hath come to me, since we two sisters were bereft of brothers twain, killed in one day by a twofold blow; and since in this last night the Argive host hath fled, I know no more, whether my fortune be brighter, or more grievous.

Ant. I knew it well, and therefore sought to bring thee

**The human
law in conflict with the
divine.**

Sophocles,
Antigone
(opening).
On Ædipus;
*Ancient
World*, 93.

The Argives had attacked their city, Thebes, and had been driven off. Their brother Polyneices had been with the enemy. He and Eteocles, another brother, had killed each other in battle.

Their father
Œdipus had
been king,
but was
dethroned,
and Creon,
their uncle,
was reign-
ing.

As a traitor,
Polyneices
was to re-
main un-
buried.

beyond the gates of the court, that thou mightest hear alone.

Is. What is it? 'Tis plain that thou art brooding on some dark tidings.

Ant. What, hath not Creon destined our brothers, the one to honored burial, the other to unburied shame? Eteocles, they say, with due observance of right and custom, he hath laid in the earth, for his honor among the dead below. But the hapless corpse of Polyneices—as rumor saith, it hath been published to the town that none shall entomb him or mourn, but leave unwept, unsepulchred, a welcome store for the birds, as they espy him, to feast on at will.

Such, 'tis said, is the edict that the good Creon hath set forth for thee and for me—yes, for me,—and is coming hither to proclaim it clearly to those who know it not; nor counts the matter light, but whoso disobeys in aught, his doom is death by stoning before all the folk. Thou knowest it now; and thou wilt soon show whether thou art nobly bred, or the base daughter of a noble line.

Is. Poor sister,—and if things stand thus, what could I help to do or undo?

Ant. Consider if thou wilt share the toil and the deed.

Is. In what venture? What can be thy meaning?

Ant. Wilt thou aid this hand to lift the dead?

Is. Thou wouldst bury him,—when 'tis forbidden to Thebes?

Ant. I will do my part,—and thine, if thou wilt not,—to a brother. False to him will I never be found.

Is. Ah, over-bold! when Creon hath forbidden?

Ant. Nay, he hath no right to keep me from mine own.

Is. Ah, me! think, sister, how our father perished, amid hate and scorn! . . . Nay, we must remember, first that

Antigone has
resolved to
obey the
religious
law, which
commands
one to bury
a relative.

we were born women, who should not strive with men; next, that we are ruled of the stronger, so that we must obey in these things, and in things yet sorer. I, therefore, asking the Spirits Infernal to pardon, seeing that force is put on me herein, will hearken to our rulers; for 'tis witless to be over-busy.

Ant. I will not urge thee,—no, nor, if thou yet shouldst have the mind, wouldst thou be welcome as a worker with me. Nay, be what thou wilt; but I will bury him: well for me to die in doing that. I shall rest, a loved one with him whom I have loved, sinless in my crime; for I owe a longer allegiance to the dead than to the living: in that world I shall abide forever. But if thou wilt, be guilty of dishonoring laws which the gods have stablished in honor.

Is. I do them no dishonor; but to defy the state,—I have no strength for that.

In punishment she was buried alive.

Ant. Such be thy plea:—I, then, will go to heap the earth above the brother whom I love.

First I call on thee, daughter of Zeus, divine Athena, and on thy sister, guardian of our land, Artemis, who sits on her throne of fame, above the circle of our Agora, and on Phœbus the far-darter; O shine forth on me, my three-fold help against death! If ever aforesaid, in arrest of ruin hurrying on the city, ye drove a fiery pest beyond our borders, come now also!

Prayer for deliverance from a pestilence.

Sophocles,
Œdipus Tyrannus,
159 ff.

Woe is me, countless are the sorrows that I bear; a plague is on all our host, and thought can find no weapon for defence. . . .

By such deaths, past numbering, the city perishes: unpitied, her children lie on the ground, spreading pestilence, with none to mourn: and meanwhile young wives,

Apollo.

and gray-haired mothers with them, uplift a wail at the steps of the altars, some here, some there, entreating for their weary woes. The prayer to the Healer rings clear, and blent therewith, the voice of lamentation; for these things, golden daughter of Zeus, send us the bright face of comfort.

The "deep of
Amphitrite"
is the ocean.

And grant that the fierce god of death, who now with no brazen shields, yet amid cries as of battle, wraps me in the flame of his onset, may turn his back in speedy flight from our land, borne by a fair wind to the great deep of Amphitrite, or to those waters in which none find haven, even to the Thracian wave; for if night leave aught undone, day follows to accomplish this. O thou who wieldest the powers of the fire-fraught lightning, O Zeus, our father, slay him beneath thy thunderbolt!

Apollo again.

Lycean King, fain were I that thy shafts also, from thy bent bow's string of woven gold, should go abroad in their might, our champions in the face of the foe; yea, and the flashing fires of Artemis wherewith she glances through the Lycian hills. And I call him whose locks are bound with gold, who is named with the name of this land, ruddy Bacchus to whom Bacchantes cry, the comrade of the Mænads, to draw near with the blaze of his blithe torch, our ally against the god unhonored among gods. . . .

V. CONDITION OF A SUBJECT STATE OF THE EMPIRE

**Charter of
Chalcis.**

Granted by
decree of the
council and
assembly
(*demos*) of
Athens.
The original
text may be
found in

It has pleased the council and the *demos*. Antiochis held the *prytany*; Dracontides was chairman; Diognetus made the motion; that the council and the jurors of the Athenians shall take oath as follows:—

I shall not banish Chalcidians from Chalcis or destroy their city; nor will I disfranchise any private citizen nor punish him with exile nor arrest him nor put him to

death untried, except with the sanction of the Athenian people; nor will I put a resolution to vote against the community or any private citizen when neither has been summoned to trial. Moreover if an embassy comes, I will introduce it to the council and assembly within ten days to the best of my ability whensoever I am serving as prytanis. These things I will maintain for the Chalcidians as long as they are obedient to the Athenian people.

An embassy coming from Chalcis shall administer the oath to the Athenians and shall register the names of those who have taken it. It shall be the function of the generals to see that all take the oath.

The Chalcidians on their part shall swear as follows:

I will not revolt against the Athenian people by any plan or contrivance, by word or deed, nor will I obey any one who does revolt; and if anyone revolts, I will denounce him to the Athenians. Furthermore I will pay to the Athenians whatever contribution I shall persuade the Athenians to accept, and shall be as faithful and just an ally as I am able; and I shall bring succor and aid to the Athenian people if anyone attempts to harm the Athenian people.

All the adult Chalcidians shall take the oath. Whoever shall refuse to swear shall be disenfranchised and his property shall be confiscated, and a tenth of his goods shall be sacred to the Olympian Zeus. An embassy of Athenians coming to Chalcis shall, in coöperation with the commissioners of oaths in Chalcis, impose the oath and register the names of the Chalcidians who have taken it. . . .

This decree and oath the secretary of the council at Athens shall engrave on a stone pillar and set it up on the Acropolis at the expense of the Chalcidians. The council of the Chalcidians shall also engrave it and set it up in the

Hicks and Hill, *Manual of Greek Inscriptions*, no. 40.

The opening gives the usual formula of a decree. Antiochis was the tribe whose delegation chanced to be on duty as prytanes; *Ancient World*, 140.

The oath of the Chalcidians.

Preservation of the decree.

This and the following paragraphs form part of an amendment by Anticles.

temple of the Olympian Zeus in Chalcis. These things they shall vote concerning the Chalcidians.

Hierocles, a soothsayer who had been with the army in Eubœa.

Jurisdiction.

Amendment by Arches-tratus.

Aristophanes, *Acharnians* (opening).

This play was presented in 425 B.C.

Justown, an upright citizen from the country, comes early to the place of assembly, on Pnyx Hill, but finds no one there. He is vexed that the citizens are so neglectful of duty. He is anxious to deliberate on peace with Sparta.

The Presidents are the prytenes;

Ancient World, 140.

The "painted twine" is to mark those who neglected the call to the assembly.

With respect however to the sacrifices required by the oracles concerning Eubœa, let the council elect three of their own number, who shall join with Hierocles in offering them as speedily as possible.

Archestratus moved: other matters shall stand as Anticles has proposed; but the Chalcidians shall have jurisdiction over their own citizens at Chalcis, just as the Athenians have over theirs at Athens, except in cases of exile, death, and disfranchisement. In these cases let there be an appeal to Athens, to the Heliæa of the Thesmothetæ in accordance with the decree of the assembly. Touching the garrison in Eubœa, let the generals take care to the best of their ability that it be of the greatest possible advantage to the Athenians.

VI. SOME DIPLOMATIC BUSINESS BEFORE THE ASSEMBLY

Justown. But never in my lifetime, man nor boy,
Was I so vexed as at this present moment;
To see the Pnyx, at this time of the morning,
Quite empty, when the Assembly should be full.
There are our citizens in the market-place,
Lounging and talking, shifting up and down
To escape the painted twine that ought to sweep
The shoal of them this way; not even the Presidents
Arrived—they're always last, crowding and jostling
To get the foremost seat; but as for peace
They never think about it—Oh, poor country!
As for myself, I'm always the first man.
Alone in the morning, here I take my place,
Here I contemplate, here I stretch my legs;
I think and think—I don't know what to think.
I draw conclusions and comparisons. . . .
I fidget about and yawn and scratch myself;
Looking in vain to the prospect of the fields,

Loathing the city, longing for a peace,
 To return to my poor village and my farm,
 That never used to cry "Come buy my charcoal!"
 Nor "Buy my oil" nor "Buy my anything!"
 But gave me what I wanted, freely and fairly,
 Clear of all cost, with never a word of buying,
 Or such buy-words. So here I'm come, resolved
 To bawl, to abuse, to interrupt the speakers,
 Whenever I hear a word of any kind
 Except for an immediate peace. Ah there!
 The Presidents at last; see, there they come!
 All scrambling for their seats—I told you so!
Herald. Move forward there! Move forward all of ye
 Further! within the consecrated ground.
Halfgod. Has anybody spoke?
Her. Is anybody
 Prepared to speak?
Half. Yes, I.
Her. Who are you and what?
Half. Halfgod, the demigod.
Her. Not a man?
Half. No I'm immortal; for the first Halfgod
 Was born of Ceres and Triptolemus,
 His only son was Celeus, Celeus married
 Phænarete my grandmother; Lycinus
 My father, was their son; that's proof enough
 Of the immortality in our family.
 The gods moreover have despatched me here
 Commissioned specially to arrange a peace
 Betwixt this city and Sparta—notwithstanding
 I find myself rather in want at present
 Of a little ready money for my journey.
 The magistrates won't assist me.
Her. Constables!
Half. O Celeus and Triptolemus, don't forsake me!
Just. You Presidents, I say! you exceed your powers;
 You insult the Assembly, dragging off a man
 That offered to make terms and give us peace.
Her. Keep silence there.

The war
 keeps him in
 the city
 against his
 will.

The Presi-
 dents enter
 and take their
 seats.

Religious
 ceremony of
 consecra-
 tion.

The proceed-
 ings begin.

The haughty
 pride of
 ancestry.

Halfgod has
 come on a
 peace mis-
 sion.

The herald
 calls the con-
 stables to
 drag Halfgod
 out; there is
 to be no talk
 of peace with
 Sparta.

The authorities want an alliance with Persia, but Justown will not hear of it.

The dress is wonderfully gay.

A High Inspector of the Persian king was called the "King's Eye."

His huge eye looks like the eye painted on a ship's prow.

Just. By Zeus, but I won't be silent,
Except I hear a motion about peace.

Her. Ho, there! the Ambassadors from the King of Persia.

Just. What King of Persia? what Ambassadors?

I'm sick of foreigners and foreign animals,
Peacocks and coxcombs and Ambassadors.

Her. Keep silence there.

Just. What's here? What dress is that?

In the name of Ecbatana! What does it mean?

Ambassadors. You sent us when Euthymenes was Archon,
Some few years back, Ambassadors to Persia,
With an appointment of two drachmas each
For daily maintenance.

Just. Alas, poor drachmas! . . .

Amb. Finally,¹

We've brought you here a nobleman, Shamartabas

By name, by rank and office the King's Eye.

Just. God send a crow to pick it out I say,

And yours the Ambassadors' into the bargain!

Her. Let the King's Eye come forward.

Just. Hercules!

What's here? an eye for the head of a ship? What point,

What headland is he weathering? what's your course?

What makes you steer so slowly and so steadily?

Amb. Come now, Shamartabas, stand forth; declare
The King's intentions to the Athenian people.

(Shamartabas here utters some words, which Orientalists have supposed to be the common formula prefixed to the edicts of the Persian monarch—Iartaman exarksan apissonai satra)

Amb. You understand it?

Just. No, by Zeus, not I.

Amb. (to *Just.*) He says the King intends to send us gold. (to Shamartabas) Explain about the gold; speak more distinctly.

Shamartabas. Sen gooly Jaönau aphooly chest.

Just. Well, that's distinct enough!

Her. What does he say?

Just. That it's a foolish jest for the Ionians

To imagine their King would send them gold.

Amb. No, no!—He's telling ye of chests full of gold.

Just. What chests? you're an impostor.—Stand away,
Keep off; and let me alone to question him.
(to Shamartabas) You Sir, you Persian! answer me distinctly
And plainly in the presence of this fist of mine;
On pain of a royal purple bloody nose.
Will the King send us gold, or will he not?

(Shamartabas shakes his head)

Have our Ambassadors bamboozled us?

(Shamartabas nods)

These fellows nod to us in the Grecian fashion;
They're some of our own people, I'll be bound. . . .

Her. Theorus, our ambassador into Thrace,
Returned from King Sitalces!

Theorus. Here am I.

Just. More coxcombs called for! Here's another coming.

Theo. We should not have remained so long in Thrace . . .

Just. If you hadn't been overpaid I know you wouldn't.

Theo. But for the snow which covered all the country,
And buried up the roads, and froze the rivers.

'Twas singular this change of weather happened

Just when Theognis here, our frosty poet,
Brought out his tragedy. We passed our time

In drinking with Sitalces. He's your friend,
Your friend and lover, if there ever was one,
And writes the name of Athens on his walls. . . .

And now he has sent some warriors from a tribe
The fiercest in all Thrace.

Just. Well, come—That's fair.

Her. The Thracians that came hither with Theorus!
Let them come forward!

Just. What the plague are these?

Theo. The Odomantian army.

Just. The Odomantians?

Thracians? and what has brought them here from Thrace
So strangely equipped, disguised, and circumcised?

Theo. These are a race of fellows, if you'd hire them,
Only a couple of drachmas daily pay;
With their light javelins, and their little bucklers,
They'd worry and skirmish all over Bœotia.

Theorus, ambassador to Thrace, has returned, and wishes to report.

The tragedy of Theognis has caused a snow storm.

Just. Two drachmas for those scarecrows! and our seamen
What would they say to it?—left in arrears,
Poor fellows, that are our support and safeguard.
Out, out upon it! I'm a plundered man.
I'm robbed and ruined here with the Odomantians.
They're seizing upon my garlic.

Theo. (to the Thracians) Oh for shame,
Let the man's garlic alone. You shabby fellow,
You countryman, take care what you're about;
Don't venture near them when they're primed with garlic.

Just. You magistrates, have you the face to see it,
With your own eyes—your fellow-citizen
Here, in the city itself, robbed by barbarians?

But I forbid the Assembly. There's a change
In the heaven! I felt a drop of rain! I'm witness!

Her. The Thracians must withdraw, to attend again
The first of next month. The Assembly is closed.

Rain was an
unpropitious
sign, dissolv-
ing the as-
sembly.

VII. THE JURORS

The old
juror.

Aristophanes,
Wasps, 88 ff.

The speaker
is his son,
who has
found it nec-
essary to
keep the old
man confined
at home, to
curb his pas-
sion for jury
service.

Greece, 175;
*Ancient
World*, 195 f.

Chorus of
jurors.

Aristophanes,
Wasps, 549 ff.

"He is a law-court lover, no man like him.

Judging is what he dotes on, and he weeps

Unless he sits on the front bench of all.

At night he gets no sleep, no, not one grain,

Or if he doze the tiniest speck, his soul

Flutters in dreams about the water-clock. . . .

The cock which crew at morningtide, he said,

Was tampered with, he knew, to call him late.

Bribed by officials whose accounts were due.

Breakfast scarce done, he clamors for his shoes,

Hurries ere daybreak to the Court, and sleeps

Stuck like a limpit to the doorpost there. . . .

Such is his frenzy, and the more you chide him

The more he judges: so with bolts and bars

We guard him straitly that he stir not out."

No kinglier power than ours in any part of the world exists.

Is there any creature on earth more blest, more feared, and petted

from day to day,

Or that leads a happier, pleasanter life, than a justice of Athens,
though old and gray?

For first when rising from bed in the morn, to the criminal court be-
times I trudge,

Great six-foot fellows are there at the rails, in anxious haste to salute
their judge.

And the delicate hand, which has dipt so deep in the public purse, he
claps into mine,

And he bows before me and makes his prayer, and softens his voice
to a pitiful whine. . . .

So when they have begged and implored me enough, and my angry
temper is wiped away,

I enter in and take my seat; and then I do none of the things I say. . .

Some vow they are needy and friendless men, and over their poverty
wail and whine,

And reckon up hardships false and true, till they make them out to be
equal to mine.

Some tell a legend of days gone by, or a joke from Æsop witty and
sage,

Or jest and banter, to make me laugh, that so I may forget my
terrible rage.

And if all this fails, and I stand unmoved, he leads by the hands his
little ones near,

He brings his girls and he brings his boys; and I the judge am com-
posed to hear.

They huddle together with piteous bleats: while trembling above
them he prays to me,

Prays as to God his accounts to pass, to give him acquittance, and
leave him free.

But the nicest and pleasantest part of it all is this, which I had
wholly forgotten to say,

'Tis when with my fee in my wallet I come, returning home at the
close of the day,

Oh then what a welcome I get for its sake; my daughter, the darling,
is foremost of all,

And she washes my feet and anoints them with care and above them
she stoops and a kiss lets fall,

Till at last by the pretty Papas of her tongue, she angles withal my
three obols away.

Then my dear little wife, she sets on the board nice manchets of
bread in a tempting array,

Various
classes of
offenders.

A common
custom in
these courts.

His salary
promotes
family affec-
tion.

And cosily taking a seat by my side, with loving entreaty constrains
me to feed;

"I beseech you taste this, I implore you try that."

VIII. TWO INTERESTING DOCUMENTS

Mannes, whose epitaph is given below, was a Phrygian by birth, doubtless brought as a slave to Attica and afterward liberated. He was one of a community of woodcutters in central Attica, when he was killed by the invading Peloponnesians in the first year of the war (431 B.C.). The second document is the earliest extant Greek letter, written on a leaden tablet now in the British Museum. The writer is an Athenian of the later fifth century B.C. The translations are by Zimmern, *Greek Commonwealth*, 272, 278 f.

Epitaph of
Mannes the
woodman.

A. Mannes, son of Orymas, who was the best of the Phrygians in the broad lands of Athens, lies in this fine tomb; and by Zeus, I never saw a better woodman than myself. He died in the war.

Letter of
Mnesiergus
to those at
home.

B. Carry to the Potters' Market, and deliver to Nausias or Thrasyacles or my son.

Mnesiergus sends his love to all at home and hopes this may find them well as it leaves him.

Please send me a rug, either a sheepskin or a goatskin, as cheap as you can get it, and not with the hairs on, and some strong shoe-soles: I will pay some time.

IX. CRITICISM ON THE ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY

This *Constitution of the Athenians* is wrongly ascribed to Xenophon. It was written by an oligarch ("Old Oligarch") early in the Peloponnesian war, and is the oldest extant political pamphlet in any language.

Introduction.

Now, as concerning the Polity of the Athenians, and the type or manner of constitution which they have chosen, I praise it not, in so far as the very choice involves

the welfare of the baser folk as opposed to that of the better class. I repeat, I withhold my praise so far; but, given the fact that this is the type agreed upon, I propose to show that they set about its preservation in the right way. . . .

In the first place, I maintain, it is only just that the poorer classes and the People of Athens should be better off than the men of birth and wealth, seeing that it is the people who man the fleet, and put round the city her girdle of power. The steersman, the boatswain, the lieutenant, the look-out-man at the prow, the shipwright—these are the people who engird the city with power far rather than her heavy infantry and men of birth and quality. This being the case, it seems only just that offices of state should be thrown open to every one both in the ballot and the show of hands, and that the right of speech should belong to anyone who likes, without restriction. . . .

Another point is the extraordinary amount of license granted to slaves and resident aliens of Athens, where a blow is illegal, and a slave will not step aside to let you pass him in the street. I will explain the reason of this peculiar custom. Supposing it were legal for a slave to be beaten by a free citizen, or for a resident alien or freedman to be beaten by a citizen, it would frequently happen that an Athenian might be mistaken for a slave or an alien and receive a beating; since the Athenian people are not better clothed than the slave or alien, nor in personal appearance is there any superiority. Or if the fact itself that slaves in Athens are allowed to indulge in luxury, and indeed in some cases to live magnificently, be found astonishing, this too, it can be shown, is done of set purpose. Where we have a naval power dependent upon

The author hates democracy, but grants that if such a thing is to exist, the Athenians are wise in their method of upholding it.

The poor are better provided for and have more influence than the rich, because the former constitute the naval power.

Excellent condition of slaves and resident aliens.

Unintentionally the author pays a great compliment to democracy.

wealth we must perforce be slaves to our slaves, in order that we may get in our slave-rents, and let the real slave go free. . . .

Naval supremacy brings refinements and breadth of life.

And if one may descend to more trifling particulars, it is to the same lordship of the sea that the Athenians owe the discovery, in the first place, of many of the luxuries of life through intercourse with other countries. So that the choice things of Sicily and Italy, of Cyprus and Egypt and Lydia, of Pontus or Peloponnese, or wheresoever it be, are all swept, as it were, into one centre, and all owing, as I say, to their maritime empire. And again, in process of listening to every form of speech, they have selected this from one place and that from another—for themselves. So much so that while the rest of the Hellenes employ each pretty much their own peculiar mode of speech, habit of life, and style of dress, the Athenians have adopted a composite type, to which all sections of Hellas, and the foreigner alike, have contributed.

The plain citizens have a full share in the festivals.

As regards sacrifices and temples and festivals and sacred enclosures, the People see that it is not possible for every poor citizen to do sacrifice and hold festival, or to set up temples and to inhabit a large and beautiful city. But they have hit upon a means of meeting the difficulty. They sacrifice—that is, the whole state sacrifices—at the public cost, a large number of victims; but it is the People that keep holiday and distribute the victims by lot among its members. Rich men have in some cases private gymnasia and baths with dressing-rooms, but the People take care to have built at the public cost a number of palæstras, dressing-rooms, and bathing establishments for their own special use, and the mob gets the benefit of the majority of these, rather than the select few or the well-to-do.

As to wealth, the Athenians are exceptionally placed with regard to Hellenic and foreign communities alike, in their ability to hold it. For, given that some state or other is rich in timber for shipbuilding, where is it to find a market for the product except by persuading the ruler of the sea? Or suppose the wealth of some state or other to consist of iron, or may be of bronze, or of linen yarn, where will it find a market except by permission of the supreme maritime power? Yet these are the very things, you see, which I need for my ships. Timber I must have from one, and from another iron, from a third bronze, from a fourth linen yarn, from a fifth wax, etc. Besides which they will not suffer their antagonists in those parts to carry their products elsewhere, or they will cease to use the sea. Accordingly I, without one stroke of labor, extract from the land and possess all these good things, thanks to my supremacy on the sea; whilst not a single other state possesses the two of them. Not timber, for instance, and yarn together, can be found in the same city. But where yarn is abundant, the soil will be light and devoid of timber. And in the same way bronze and iron will not be products of the same city. And so for the rest, never two or at best three, in one state, but one thing here and another thing there. Moreover, above and beyond what has been said, the coast-line of every mainland presents, either some jutting promontory or adjacent island or narrow strait of some sort, so that those who are masters of the sea can come to moorings at one of these points and wreak vengeance on the inhabitants of the mainland.

Naval supremacy tends to a monopoly of the world's products.

The commerce of other states is at the mercy of the supreme maritime power.

X. CHARACTER OF THE ATHENIANS INTERPRETED BY PERICLES

Equality before the law and offices to the qualified.

Funeral Oration of Pericles, quoted by Thucydides ii. 37.

The ideas are those of Pericles; the words are mainly the historian's.

Refinements of Athenian life.

Ib. 38.

"Our form of government does not enter into rivalry with the institutions of others. We do not copy our neighbors, but are an example to them. It is true that we are called a democracy, for the administration is in the hands of the many and not of the few. But while the law secures equal justice to all alike in their private disputes, the claim of excellence is also recognized; and when a citizen is in any way distinguished, he is preferred for the public service, not as a matter of privilege, but as a reward of merit. Neither is poverty a bar, but a man may benefit his country whatever be the obscurity of his condition. There is no exclusiveness in our public life, and in our private intercourse we are not suspicious of one another, nor angry with our neighbor if he does what he likes; we do not put on sour looks at him which, though harmless, are not pleasant. While we are thus unconstrained in our private intercourse, a spirit of reverence pervades our public acts; we are prevented from doing wrong by respect for authority and for the laws, having a special regard to those which are ordained for the protection of the injured as well as to those unwritten laws which bring upon the transgressor of them the reprobation of the general sentiment.

"And we have not forgotten to provide for our weary spirits many relaxations from toil; we have regular games and sacrifices throughout the year; at home the style of our life is refined; and the delight which we daily feel in all these things helps to banish melancholy. Because of the greatness of our city the fruits of the whole earth

flow in upon us; so that we enjoy the goods of other countries as freely as of our own.

Then, again, our military training is in many respects superior to that of our adversaries. Our city is thrown open to the world, and we never expel a foreigner or prevent him from seeing or learning anything of which the secret, if revealed to an enemy, might profit him. We rely not upon management and trickery, but upon our own hearts and hands. And in the matter of education, whereas they from early youth are undergoing laborious exercises which are to make them brave, we live at ease, and yet are equally ready to face the perils which they face. . . .

Generosity
of spirit.

Ib. 39.

“If then we prefer to meet danger with a light heart but without laborious training, and with a courage which is gained by habit and not enforced by law, are we not greatly the gainers? since we do not anticipate the pain, although when the hour comes, we can be as brave as those who never allow themselves to rest; and thus too our city is equally admirable in peace and in war. For we are lovers of the beautiful, yet simple in our tastes, and we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness. Wealth we employ, not for talk and ostentation, but when there is a real use for it. To avow poverty with us is no disgrace: the true disgrace is in doing nothing to avoid it. An Athenian citizen does not neglect the state because he takes care of his own household; and even those of us who are engaged in business have a very fair idea of politics. We alone regard a man who takes no interest in public affairs, not as a harmless, but as a useless character; and if few of us are originators, we are all sound judges of a policy. The great impediment to action is, in our opinion, not discussion, but the want of that knowledge which

Lovers of
the beautiful.

Liberal foreign policy.

is gained by discussion preparatory to action. For we have a peculiar power of thinking before we act and of acting too, whereas other men are courageous from ignorance but hesitate upon reflection. And they are surely to be esteemed the bravest spirits who, having the clearest sense both of the pains and pleasures of life, do not on that account shrink from danger. In doing good, again, we are unlike others; we make our friends by conferring, not by receiving favors. Now he who confers a favor is the firmer friend, because he would fain by kindness keep alive the memory of an obligation; but the recipient is colder in his feelings, because he knows that in requiting another's generosity he will not be winning gratitude, but only paying a debt. We alone do good to our neighbors not upon a calculation of interest but in the confidence of freedom and in a frank and fearless spirit.

The "School of Hellas."

Ib. 41.

"To sum up, I say that Athens is the school of Hellas, and that the individual Athenian in his own person seems to have the power of adapting himself to the most varied forms of action with the utmost versatility and grace. This is no passing and idle word, but truth and fact; and the assertion is verified by the position to which these qualities have raised the state. For in the hour of trial Athens alone among her contemporaries is superior to the report of her. No enemy who comes against her is indignant at the reverses which he sustains at the hand of such a city; no subject complains that his masters are unworthy of him. And we shall assuredly not be without witnesses; there are mighty monuments of our power which will make us the wonder of this and of succeeding ages; we shall not need the praises of Homer or of any other panegyrist whose poetry may please for the moment, although his representation of the facts will not bear the

light of day. For we have compelled every land and every sea to open a path for our valor, and have everywhere planted eternal memorials of our friendship and of our enmity."

STUDIES

1. Give an account of the family of Pericles. Describe his personal appearance. Who was his principal teacher, and for what was the latter noted?

2. Why did Pericles hesitate to engage in politics? Why did he take the popular side? Describe his oratory. Was he unsocial by nature or on principle? Describe the government of Pericles. Give a reason why it should not be called a democracy.

3. What money was used for building temples and other public works? What objection was brought against this policy? How did Pericles defend his policy? What evidence does Plutarch find of the former greatness of Athens? How does his remark illustrate the fact that "archæology confirms history"? What economic object had Pericles in mind? What industries contributed to these works? What is Plutarch's estimate of their artistic worth? Who were the artists? Describe the Odeum. What was the Propylæa, and where was it situated?

4. Find on the map the places from which all the charioteers here mentioned came. Where did this race take place? Describe it in your own language. Where was Crisa? What was done with the dead body? What does Antigone talk with her sister about? What stand does Antigone take? Contrast the sisters in character. What gods are invoked as a help against the pestilence? What seems to be the spirit of the prayer?

5. State definitely how the Athenians promised to treat the Chalcidians. What are to be the duties of Chalcis to Athens? What cases were to be tried in Chalcis, and what cases appealed to Athens?

6. From this passage write out all you can concerning the opening and procedure of the popular assembly. What was Justown aiming at? Why did he dislike the negotiations with Persia? Explain the negotiations with the Thracians. Why did Justown object to the bargain? How did he force the adjournment of the assembly? What is the historical value of this passage?

7. Why should the old man so love jury service? Do all the jurors

seem to be old men? What do the jurors say of their power? How are they treated by litigants and offenders? What becomes of the daily fee?

8. Describe these two documents. What interest attaches to each?

9. What objections has the "Old Oligarch" to the Athenian form of government? What was the condition of slaves and of alien residents in Athens? Why should the "Old Oligarch" find fault with this condition? What advantages does her naval supremacy bring to Athens? What disadvantages to others?

10. What does Pericles consider the leading principles of democracy? Who were the authors of the selections in this chapter? What did they severally write, and what is the historical value of each?

CHAPTER XIX

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR TO THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION

I. THE RESOURCES OF THE CONTENDING POWERS

THE Athenians now made preparations for war. The Lacedæmonians and their allies made similar preparations. Both they and the Athenians meditated sending embassies to the king, and to the other barbarian potentates from whom either party might hope to obtain aid; they likewise sought the alliance of independent cities outside their own dominion. The Lacedæmonians ordered their friends in Italy and Sicily, in addition to the ships which they had on the spot, to build others in number proportioned to the size of their cities; for they intended to raise the Peloponnesian navy to a total of five hundred. The cities were also required to furnish a fixed sum of money; they were not to receive more than a single Athenian ship, but were to take no further measures until these preparations had been completed. The Athenians reviewed their confederacy, and sent ambassadors to the places immediately adjacent to Peloponnesus—Corcyra, Cephallenia, Acarnania, and Zacynthus. They perceived that if they could only rely upon the friendship of these states, they might completely surround Peloponnesus with war.

On neither side were there any mean thoughts; they were both full of enthusiasm; and no wonder, for all men are energetic when they are making a beginning. At that

**Prepara-
tions.**

Thucydides
ii. 7.

Greece, 190 ff.;
*Ancient
World*, 219 ff.

**Both sides
enthusiastic.**

Thuc. ii. 8.

time the youth of Peloponnesus and the youth of Athens were numerous; they had never seen war, and were therefore very willing to take up arms. All Hellas was excited by the coming conflict between her two chief cities. Many were the prophecies circulated and many the oracles chanted by diviners, not only in the cities about to engage in the struggle, but throughout Hellas. Quite lately the island of Delos had been shaken by an earthquake for the first time within the memory of the Hellenes; this was interpreted and generally believed to be a sign of coming events. And everything of the sort which occurred was curiously noted.

The Hel-
lenes favor
Lacedæmon.

The feeling of mankind was strongly on the side of the Lacedæmonians; for they professed to be the liberators of Hellas. Cities and individuals were eager to assist them to the utmost, both by word and deed; and where a man could not hope to be present, there it seemed to him that all things were at a stand. For the general indignation against the Athenians was intense; some were longing to be delivered from them, others fearful of falling under their sway.

The allies on
both sides.

Ib. 9.

Such was the temper which animated the Hellenes, and such were the preparations made by the two powers for the war. Their respective allies were as follows:—The Lacedæmonian confederacy included all the Peloponnesians with the exception of the Argives and the Achæans—they were both neutral; only the Achæans of Pellene took part with the Lacedæmonians at first; afterward all the Achæans joined them. Beyond the borders of the Peloponnese, the Megarians, Phocians, Locrians, Bœotians, Ambraciots, Leucadians, and Anactorians were their allies. Of these states the Corinthians, Megarians, Sicyonians, Pellenians, Eleans, Ambraciots, and Leucadians provided a navy, the

Boeotians, Phocians and Locrians furnished cavalry, the other states only infantry. The allies of the Athenians were Chios, Lesbos, Platæa, the Messenians of Naupactus, the greater part of Acarnania, Corcyra, Zacynthus, and in many other countries cities which were their tributaries. There were the maritime region of Caria, the adjacent Dorian people, Ionia, the Hellespont, the Thracian coast, the islands that lie to the east within the line of Peloponnesus and Crete, including all the Cyclades with the exception of Melos and Thera. Chios, Lesbos, and Corcyra furnished a navy; the rest, land forces and money. Thus much concerning the two confederacies, and the character of their respective forces.

II. CLEON'S POLICY OF TERRORISM

In the former assembly, Cleon, the son of Cleænetus, had carried the decree condemning the Mytilenæans to death. He was the most violent of the citizens, and at that time exercised by far the greatest influence over the people. And now he came forward a second time and spoke as follows:—

"I have remarked again and again that a democracy cannot manage an empire, but never more than now, when I see you regretting your condemnation of the Mytilenæans. Having no fear or suspicion of one another in daily life, you deal with your allies upon the same principle, and you do not consider that whenever you yield to them out of pity or are misled by their specious tales, you are guilty of a weakness dangerous to yourselves, and receive no thanks from them. You should remember that your empire is a despotism exercised over unwilling subjects, who are always conspiring against you; they do not

How rebels should be punished.

Thucydides
iii. 36 f.

*Ancient
World, 222.*

The revolt of Mytilene had been led by the oligarchs. There was no doubt that they should be put to death. The question was what should be done to the commons, who had taken little part in the revolt, and were in fact loyal to Athens.

The Athenians had condemned all to death, but the question was now reopened.

obey in return for any kindness which you do them to your own injury, but in so far as you are their masters; they have no love of you, but they are held down by force. Besides, what can be more detestable than to be perpetually changing our minds? We forget that a state in which the laws though imperfect are unalterable, is better off than one in which the laws are good but powerless. Dulness and modesty are a more useful combination than cleverness and licence; and the more simple sort generally make better citizens than the more astute. For the latter desire to be thought wiser than the laws; they want always to be taking a lead in the discussions of the assembly; they think that they can nowhere have a finer opportunity of speaking their mind, and their folly generally ends in the ruin of their country; whereas the others, mistrusting their own capacity, admit that the laws are wiser than themselves; they do not pretend to criticise the arguments of a great speaker; and being impartial judges, not ambitious rivals, they are generally in the right. That is the spirit in which we should act; not suffering ourselves to be so excited by our own cleverness in a war of wits as to advise the Athenian people contrary to our own better judgment. . . .

The offence of Mytilene is especially heinous.

Thucydides
ii. 39.

“I want you to put aside this trifling, and therefore I say to you that no single city has ever injured us so deeply as Mytilene. I can excuse those who find our rules too heavy to bear, or who have revolted because the enemy have compelled them. But islanders who had walls, and were unassailable by our enemies except at sea, and on that element were sufficiently protected by a fleet of their own, who were independent and treated by us with the highest regard, when they act thus they have not revolted, (that word would imply that they were oppressed),

but they have rebelled, and entering the ranks of our bitterest enemies, have conspired with them to seek our ruin. And surely this is far more atrocious than if they had been led by motives of ambition to take up arms against us on their own account. They learned nothing from the misfortunes of their neighbors who had already revolted and had been subdued by us, nor did the happiness of which they were in the enjoyment make them hesitate to court destruction. They trusted recklessly to the future, and cherishing hopes which, if less than their wishes, were greater than their powers, they went to war, preferring might to right. No sooner did they seem likely to win than they set upon us, although we were doing them no wrong. Too swift and sudden a rise is apt to make cities insolent, and in general, ordinary good-fortune is safer than extraordinary. Mankind apparently find it easier to drive away adversity than to retain prosperity. We should from the first have made no difference between the Mytilenæans and the rest of our allies, and then their insolence would never have risen to such a height; for men naturally despise those who court them, but respect those who do not give way to them. Yet it is not too late to punish them as their crimes deserve.

“And do not absolve the people while you throw the blame upon the nobles. For they were all of one mind when we were to be attacked. Had the people deserted the nobles and come over to us, they might at this moment have been reinstated in their city; but they considered that their safety lay in sharing the dangers of the oligarchy, and therefore they joined in the revolt. Reflect: if you impose the same penalty upon those of your allies who wilfully rebel and upon those who are constrained by the enemy, which of them will not revolt upon any pretext

The people,
he asserts,
are as guilty
as their
leaders.

however trivial, seeing that if he succeed, he will be free, and if he fail, no irreparable evil will follow? We in the meantime shall have to risk our lives and our fortunes against every one in turn. When conquerors we shall recover only a ruined city, and for the future, the revenues which are our strength will be lost to us. But if we fail, the number of our adversaries will be increased. And when we ought to be employed in repelling our regular enemies, we shall be wasting time in fighting against our own allies.

Make an example of them.

Ib. 40.

“In one word, if you do as I say, you will do what is just to the Mytilenæans, and also what is expedient for yourselves; but if you do take the opposite course, they will not be grateful to you, and you will be self-condemned. For if they were right in revolting, you must be wrong in maintaining your empire. But if right or wrong you are resolved to rule, then rightly or wrongly they must be chastised for your good. Otherwise you must give up your empire, and when virtue is no longer dangerous, you may be as virtuous as you please. Punish them as they would have punished you; let not those who have escaped appear to have less feeling than those who conspired against them. Consider: what might not they have been expected to do if they had conquered?—especially since they were the aggressors. For those who wantonly attack others always rush into extremes, and sometimes, like these Mytilenæans, to their own destruction. They know the fate which is reserved for them if their enemy is spared; when a man is injured without a cause he is more dangerous if he escape than the enemy who has only suffered what he has inflicted. Be true then to yourselves, and recall as vividly as you can what you felt at the time; think how you would have given the world to

crush your enemies, and now take your revenge. Do not be soft-hearted at the sight of their distress, but remember the danger which was once hanging over your heads. Chastise them as they deserve, and prove by an example to your other allies that rebellion will be punished with death. If this is made quite clear to them, your attention will no longer be diverted from your enemies by wars against your own allies."

STUDIES

1. To what king did Athens and Sparta send embassies? What alliances did the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians respectively make, and what advantage did they expect therefrom? To what causes was due the high spirit of both sides? What was the religious feeling? Do people of to-day have similar feelings on such occasions?

2. What was the relation of Athens toward her allies, according to Cleon? How much truth is there in his view? Who did he think were the best citizens? What was the object of Cleon's speech? Why does he wish the commons of Mytilene punished? What policy was he trying to persuade Athens to adopt? What impression of his character does this speech make?

CHAPTER XX

FROM THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION TO THE END OF THE WAR

I. THE DEPARTURE OF THE EXPEDITION

The arma-
ment sails
for Corcyra.

Thucydides
vi. 30.

*Ancient
World*, 226-9;
Greece, 208-
16.

ABOUT the middle of summer the expedition started for Sicily. Orders had been previously given to most of the allies, to the corn-ships, the smaller craft, and generally to the vessels in attendance on the armament, that they should muster at Corcyra, whence the whole fleet was to strike across the Ionian Gulf to the promontory of Iapygia. Early in the morning of the day appointed for their departure, the Athenians and such of their allies as had already joined them went down to the Piræus and began to man the ships. The entire population of Athens accompanied them, citizens and strangers alike. The citizens came to take farewell, one of an acquaintance, another of a kinsman, another of a son; the crowd as they passed along were full of hope and full of tears; hope of conquering Sicily, tears because they doubted whether they would ever see their friends again, when they thought of the long voyage on which they were sending them. At the moment of parting the danger was nearer; and terrors which had never occurred to them when they were voting the expedition now entered into their souls. Nevertheless their spirits revived at the sight of the armament in all its strength and of the abundant provision which they had made. The strangers and the rest of the multitude

came out of curiosity, desiring to witness an enterprise of which the greatness exceeded belief.

No armament so magnificent or costly had ever been sent out by any single Hellenic power. . . . This expedition was intended to be long absent, and was thoroughly provided both for sea and land service, wherever its presence might be required. On the fleet the greatest pains and expense had been lavished by the trierarchs and the state. The public treasury gave a drachma a day to each sailor, and furnished empty hulls for sixty swift sailing vessels, and for forty transports carrying hoplites. All these were manned with the best crews which could be obtained. The trierarchs, besides the pay given by the state, added somewhat more out of their own means to the wages of the upper ranks of rowers and of the petty officers. The figure-heads and other fittings provided by them were of the most costly description. Everyone strove to the utmost that his own ship might excel both in beauty and swiftness. The infantry had been well selected and the lists carefully made up. There was the keenest rivalry among the soldiers in the matter of arms and personal equipment.

Excellent
condition of
the fleet.

Thucydides
vi. 31.

And while at home the Athenians were thus competing with one another in the performance of their several duties, to the rest of Hellas the expedition seemed to be a grand display of their power and greatness, rather than a preparation for war. If any one had reckoned up the whole expenditure (1) of the state, (2) of individual soldiers and others, including in the first not only what the city had already laid out, but what was intrusted to the generals, and in the second what either at the time or afterward private persons spent upon their outfit, or the trierarchs upon their ships, the provisions for the long

The cost.

voyage which every one may be supposed to have carried over with him over and above his public pay, and what soldiers or traders may have taken for purposes of exchange, he would have found that altogether an immense sum amounting to many talents was withdrawn from the city. Men were quite amazed at the boldness of the scheme and the magnificence of the spectacle, which were everywhere spoken of, no less than at the great disproportion of the force when compared with that of the enemy against whom it was intended. Never had a greater expedition been sent to a foreign land; never was there an enterprise in which the hope of future success seemed to be better justified by actual power.

A talent was about \$1,200.

The departure.

When the ships were manned and everything required for the voyage had been placed on board, silence was proclaimed by the sound of the trumpet, and all with one voice before setting sail offered up the customary prayers; these were recited not in each ship, but by a single herald, the whole fleet accompanying him. On every deck both officers and men, mingling wine in bowls, made libations from vessels of gold and silver. The multitude of citizens and other well-wishers who were looking on from the land joined in the prayer. The crews raised the Pæan, and when the libations were completed put to sea. After sailing out for some distance in single file, the ships raced with one another as far as Ægina; thence they hastened onward to Corcyra, where the allies who formed the rest of the army were assembling.

A pæan of this kind was a battle song, generally sung at the opening of the engagement.

II. THE RUIN OF THE EXPEDITION

Thus, after a fierce battle and a great destruction of ships and men on both sides, the Syracusans and their allies gained the victory. They gathered up the wrecks

Athenian defeat.

Thucydides vii. 72.

and bodies of the dead, and sailing back to the city, erected a trophy. The Athenians, overwhelmed by their misery, never so much as thought of recovering their wrecks or of asking leave to collect their dead. Their intention was to retreat that very night. Demosthenes came to Nicias and proposed that they should once more man their remaining vessels and endeavor to force the passage at daybreak, saying that they had more ships fit for service than the enemy. For the Athenian fleet still numbered sixty but the enemy had less than fifty. Nicias approved of his proposal, and they would have manned the ships, but the sailors refused to embark; for they were paralyzed by their defeat, and had no longer any hope of succeeding. So the Athenians all made up their minds to escape by land. . . .

Meanwhile the Syracusans and Gylippus, going forth before them with their land forces, blocked the roads in the country by which the Athenians were likely to pass, guarded the fords of the rivers and streams, and posted themselves at the best points for receiving and stopping them. Their sailors rowed up to the beach and dragged away the Athenian ships. The Athenians themselves burnt a few of them, as they had intended, but the rest the Syracusans towed away, unmolested and at their leisure, from the places where they had severally run aground, and conveyed them to the city. . . .

The Syracusans and their allies collected their forces and returned with the spoil, and as many prisoners as they could take with them into the city. The captive Athenians and allies they deposited in the quarries, which they thought would be the safest place of confinement. Nicias and Demosthenes they put to the sword against the will of Gylippus. For Gylippus thought that to carry

Ancient World, 230-232; Greece, 215 f.

The Athenian retreat is blocked.

Thucydides vii. 74.

Gylippus was a Spartan in command of Syracuse.

The retreating army is taken captive.

Thucydides vii. 86.

Chs. 75-85 give an account of the disastrous retreat of the

Athenians, involving much fighting and suffering.

home with him to Lacedemon the generals of the enemy, over and above all his other successes, would be a brilliant triumph. One of them, Demosthenes, happened to be the greatest foe, and the other, the greatest friend of the Lacedemonians, both in the same matter of Pylos and Sphacteria. For Nicias had taken up their cause, and had persuaded the Athenians to make the peace which had set at liberty the prisoners taken in the island. The Lacedemonians were grateful to him for the service, and this was the main reason why he trusted Gylippus and surrendered himself to him. But certain Syracusans, who had been in communication with him, were afraid (such was the report) that on some suspicion of their guilt he might be put to the torture and bring trouble on them in the hour of their prosperity. Others, and especially the Corinthians, feared that, being rich, he might by bribery escape and do them further mischief. So the Syracusans gained the consent of the allies and had him executed. For those or the like reasons he suffered death. No one of the Hellenes in my time was less deserving of so miserable an end; for he lived in the practice of every virtue.

Imprisonment in the stone quarries.

Thucydides vii. 87.

Those who were imprisoned in the quarries were at the beginning of their captivity harshly treated by the Syracusans. There were great numbers of them, and they were crowded in a deep and narrow place. At first the sun by day was still scorching and suffocating, for they had no roof over their heads, while the autumn nights were cold, and the extremes of temperature engendered violent disorders. Being cramped for room they had to do everything on the same spot. The corpses of those who died from their wounds or exposure to the weather, and the like, lay heaped one upon another. The smells were in-

tolerable; and they were at the same time afflicted by hunger and thirst. During eight months they were allowed only about half a pint of water and a pint of food a day. Every kind of misery which could befall man in such a place befell them. This was the condition of all the captives for about ten weeks. At length the Syracusans sold them, with the exception of the Athenians and of any Sicilians or Italian Greeks who had sided with them in the war. The whole number of the public prisoners is not accurately known, but they were not less than seven thousand.

Of all the Hellenic actions which took place in this war, or indeed of all the Hellenic actions which are on record this was the greatest—the most glorious to the victors, the most ruinous to the vanquished; for they were utterly and at all points defeated, and their sufferings were prodigious. Fleet and army perished from the face of the earth; nothing was saved and of the many who went forth, few returned.

Thus ended the Sicilian expedition.

III. ALCIBIADES

The pedigree of Alcibiades is said to begin with Eurysaces the son of Ajax, while on the mother's side he descended from Alcmeon, being the son of Deinomache, the daughter of Megacles. His father Cleinias fought bravely at Artemisium in a trireme fitted out at his own expense, and subsequently fell fighting the Bœotians, in the battle of Coronea. Alcibiades was afterward intrusted to Pericles and Aripbron, the two sons of Xanthippus, who acted as his guardians because they were the next of kin. . . . As to the beauty of Alcibiades it is not necessary to say anything except that it was equally fascinating when he

Family and person.

Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, I.

Ancient World, 224.

On Artemisium; *Ancient World*, 173 f. The battle of Coronea was fought in 447 B.C.

was a boy, a youth, and a man. The saying of Euripides, that all beauties have a beautiful autumn of their charms, is not universally true, but it was so in the case of Alcibiades and of a few other persons because of the symmetry and vigor of their frames. Even his lisp is said to have added a charm to his speech, and to have made his talk more persuasive. . . .

Character.
Plut., *Alc.* 2.

His character, in the course of his varied and brilliant career, developed many strange inconsistencies and contradictions. Emulation and love of distinction were the most prominent of his many violent passions, as is clear from the anecdotes of his childhood. Once when hard-pressed in wrestling, rather than fall, he began to bite his opponent's hands. The other let go his hold, and said, "You bite, Alcibiades, like a woman." "No," said he, "like a lion." While yet a child, he was playing with other boys at knucklebones in a narrow street, and when his turn came to throw, a loaded wagon was passing. He at first ordered the driver to stop his team because his throw was to take place directly in the path of the wagon. Then as the boor who was driving would not stop, the other children made way; but Alcibiades flung himself down on his face directly in front of the horses, and bade him drive on at his peril. The man, in alarm, now stopped his horses, and the others were terrified and ran up to him.

Musical education.

In learning he was fairly obedient to all his teachers, except in playing the flute, which he refused to do, declaring that it was unfit for a gentleman. He said that playing on the harp or lyre did not disfigure the face, but that when a man was blowing at a flute, his own friends could scarcely recognize him. Furthermore the lyre accompanies the voice of the performer while the flute takes all the breath of the player and prevents him from even

speaking. "Let the children of the Thebans," he used to say, "learn to play the flute, for they know not how to speak; but we Athenians according to tradition have the goddess Athena for our patroness, and Apollo for our tutelary divinity; and of these the first threw away her flute in disgust, and the other actually flayed the flute-player Marsyas." With such talk as this, between jest and earnest, Alcibiades gave up flute-playing himself, and induced his friends to do so, for all the youth of Athens soon heard and approved of Alcibiades' derision of the flute and of those who learned it. . . .

For no one was ever so enclosed and enveloped in the good things of this life as Alcibiades, so that no breath of criticism or free speech could ever reach him. Yet with all these flatterers about him, trying to prevent his ever hearing a word of wholesome advice or reproof, he was led by his own goodness of heart to pay especial attention to Socrates, to whom he attached himself in preference to all his rich and fashionable admirers.

A pupil of
Socrates.

Ib. 4.

He soon became intimate with Socrates, and when he discovered that this man did not wish to caress and admire him, but to expose his ignorance, search out his faults, and bring down his vain unreasoning conceit, he then

"Let fall his feathers like a craven cock."

He considered that the conversation of Socrates was really a divine instrument for the discipline and education of youth; and thus learning to despise himself, and to admire his friend, charmed with his good nature, and full of reverence for his virtues, he became insensibly in love with him, though not as the world loveth; so that all men were astonished to see him dining with Socrates, wrestling with him, and sharing his tent, while he treated

all his other admirers with harshness and some even with insolence. . . .

His marriage.

Plut., *Alc.* 8.

He once struck Hipponicus, the father of Callias, a man of great wealth and noble birth, a blow with his fist, not being moved to it by anger or any dispute, but having agreed previously with his friends to do so for a joke. When every one in the city cried out at his indecent and arrogant conduct, Alcibiades next morning at daybreak came to the house of Hipponicus, knocked and entered. Here he threw off his cloak, and offered him his body, bidding him flog him and punish him for what he had done. Hipponicus, however, pardoned him, and they became friends, so much so that Hipponicus chose him for the husband of his daughter Hipparete. Some writers say that not Hipponicus but Callias, his son, gave Hipparete to Alcibiades to wife, with a dowry of ten talents, and that when her first child was born, Alcibiades demanded and received ten more talents, as if he had made a previous agreement to that effect. Thereupon Callias, fearing that Alcibiades might plot against his life, gave public notice in the assembly that if he died childless, he would leave his house and all his property to the state. . . .

His dog.

Ib. 9.

A mina was about \$20.

He had a dog of remarkable size and beauty, for which he paid seventy minæ. It had a very fine tail, which he cut off. When his friends blamed him, and said that every one was sorry for the dog and angry with him for what he had done, he laughed and said, "Then I have succeeded; for I wish the Athenians to gossip about this, for fear they should say something worse about me. . . ."

Other peculiarities.

Ib. 16.

In the midst of all this display of political ability, eloquence, and statesmanlike prudence, he lived a life of great luxury, debauchery, and profuse expenditure, swaggering through the market-place with his long effeminate

mantle trailing on the ground. He had the deck of his trireme cut away, that he might sleep more comfortably, with his bed slung on girths instead of resting on the planks; and he carried a shield not emblazoned with the ancestral bearings of his family, but with a Cupid wielding a thunderbolt. The leading men of Athens viewed his conduct with disgust and apprehension, fearing his scornful and overbearing manner, as being nearly allied to the demeanor of a despot, while Aristophanes has expressed the feeling of the people towards him in the line:

“They love, they hate, they cannot live without him.”

And again he alludes to him in a bitterer spirit in the verse:

“A lion’s cub ’tis best you should not rear,

“For if you do, your master he’ll appear.” . . .

Alcibiades, among his extraordinary qualities, had this **Adaptability.** especial art of captivating men by assimilating his own *Ib.* 23. manners and habits to theirs, being able to change, more quickly than the chameleon, from one mode of life to another. The chameleon, indeed, cannot turn itself white; but Alcibiades never found anything, good or bad, which he could not imitate to the life. Thus at Sparta, he was fond of exercise, frugal and severe; in Ionia he was luxurious, frivolous, and lazy; in Thrace he drank deep; in Thessaly he proved himself a good horseman; while when he was consorting with the satrap Tissaphernes, he outdid even the Persian splendor and pomp. It was not his real character that he so often and so easily changed, but as he knew that if he appeared in his true colors, he would be universally disliked, he concealed his real self under an apparent adoption of the ways and fashions of whatever place he was in. . . .

IV. TERMS OF PEACE

Assembly of Peloponnesian allies.

Xenophon,
Hellenica,
ii. 2.

*Ancient
World*, 237 f.

The Athenian fleet had been destroyed at Ægospotami, and Athens had been reduced to starvation by a long siege.

Theramenes and others were ambassadors from Athens, who were treating for peace.

A general assembly was convened, in which the Corinthians and Thebans more particularly, though their views were shared by many other Hellenes also, urged the meeting not to come to terms with the Athenians, but to destroy them. The Lacedæmonians replied that they would never reduce to slavery a city which was itself an integral portion of Hellas, and had performed a great and noble service to Hellas in the most perilous of emergencies. On the contrary, they were willing to offer peace on the terms now specified—namely, “That the long walls and the fortifications of Piræus should be destroyed; that the Athenian fleet, with the exception of twelve vessels, should be surrendered; that the exiles should be restored; and lastly, that the Athenians should acknowledge the headship of Sparta in peace and war, leaving to her the choice of friends and foes, and following her lead by land and sea.” Such were the terms which Theramenes and the rest who acted with him were able to report on their return to Athens.

As they entered the city, a vast crowd met them, trembling lest their mission should have proved fruitless. For indeed delay was no longer possible, so long already was the list of victims daily perishing from starvation. On the day following, the ambassadors delivered their report, stating the terms upon which the Lacedæmonians were willing to make peace. Theramenes acted as spokesman, insisting that they ought to obey the Lacedæmonians and pull down the walls. A small minority raised their voice in opposition but the majority were strongly in favor of the proposition, and the resolution was passed to accept the peace. Afterward Lysander sailed into the

Piræus, and the exiles were readmitted. And so they fell to levelling the fortifications and walls with much enthusiasm, to the accompaniment of female flute-players, deeming that day the beginning of liberty to Greece.

The exiles were oligarchs who had been banished for political reasons.

V. CHORAL SONGS FROM *THE BIRDS*

In this brilliant comedy Aristophanes pictures an ideal community founded by the birds in Cloudcuckooland. It presents the earliest known ideal state (414 B.C.), which in this case is a comic conceit, but which was to take a serious turn in Plato's *Republic* and Moore's *Utopia*.

Awake! awake!
Sleep no more, my gentle mate!
With your tiny tawny bill,
Wake the tuneful echo shrill
On vale or hill;
Or in her airy, rocky seat,
Let her listen and repeat
The tender ditty that you tell,
The sad lament,
The dire event,
To luckless Itys that befell.
Thence the strain
Shall arise again,
And soar amain,
Up to the lofty palace gate,
Where mighty Apollo sits in state;
In Zeus' abode, with his ivory lyre,
Hymning aloud to the heavenly choir.
While all the gods shall join with thee
In a celestial symphony.

Ye gentle feathered tribes,
Of every plume and hue,
That, in uninhabited air,
Are hurrying here and there;
Oh! that I, like you,

The Hoopoo
to his Mate.

The hoopoo and his mate (the nightingale) had once been human beings, man and wife. The wife had killed her son Itys and had served him as food to her husband because the latter had wronged her. On Aristophanes; *Ancient World*, 241; *Greece*, 222 f.

O to be a
bird!

Could leave this earthly level,
 For a wild aerial revel:
 O'er the waste of ocean,
 To wander and to dally
 With the billow's motion;
 Or in an eager sally,
 Soaring to the sky,
 To range and rove on high
 With my plummy sails,
 Buffeted and baffled, with the gusty gales.

The advantage of having wings.

Here the chorus questions the audience at the play.

The poet gibes at the foreign-born among the citizens.

Is there any person present sitting a spectator here,
 Who desires to pass his time freely without restraint or fear?
 Should he wish to colonize, he never need be checked or chid,
 For the trifling indiscretions, which the testy laws forbid.
 Parricides are in esteem; among the birds we deem it fair,
 A combat honorably fought betwixt a game-cock and his heir!
 There the branded runagate, branded and mottled in the face,
 Will be deemed a motley bird; a motley mark is no disgrace.

 Spintharus, the Phrygian born, will pass a muster there with
 ease,

Counted as a Phrygian fowl; and even Execestides,
 Once a Carian and a slave, may there be nobly born and free;
 Plume himself on his descent and hatch a proper pedigree.

Thus the swans in chorus follow,
 On the mighty Thracian stream,
 Hymning their eternal theme.

Praise to Bacchus and Apollo:

 The welkin rings, with sounding wings,
 With songs and cries and melodies;
 Up to the thunderous Æther ascending:

 Whilst all that breathe, on earth beneath,
 The beasts of the wood, the plain and the flood,
 In panic amazement are crouching and bending;
 With the awful qualm, of a sudden calm,
 Ocean and air in silence blending.

The ridge of Olympus is sounding on high,
 Appalling with wonder the lords of the sky,
 And the Muses and Graces
 Enthroned in their places,
 Join in the solemn symphony.

Nothing can be more delightful than the having wings to wear!
 A spectator sitting here, accommodated with a pair,
 Might for instance (if he found a tragic chorus dull and heavy)
 Take his flight, and dine at home; and if he did not choose to leave ye,
 Might return in better humor, when the weary drawl was ended. . . .
 Trust me, wings are all in all! Diitrephes has mounted quicker
 Than the rest of our aspirants, soaring on his wings of wicker:
 Basket work and crates, and hampers, first enabled him to fly;
 First a captain, then promoted to command the cavalry;
 With his fortunes daily rising, office and preferment new,
 An illustrious, enterprising, airy, gallant cockatoo.

Just as we
 might wish
 for airships.

He made his
 fortune as
 a basket-
 weaver.
 The aristo-
 cratic poet
 jeers at the
 industrial
 class.

VI. THE GOOD OLD EDUCATION

Just Cause. I will, therefore, describe the ancient system of education, how it was ordered, when I flourished in the advocacy of justice, and temperance was the fashion. In the first place, it was incumbent that no one should hear the voice of a boy uttering a syllable; and next, that those from the same quarter of the town should march in good order through the streets to the school of the Harp-master, lightly clad and in a body, even if it were to snow as thick as meal. Then again their master would teach them, not sitting cross-legged, to learn by rote a song, either "*Pallas Athena, Dread Sacker of Towns,*" or "*Some Farborne Battle-Cry,*" raising to a higher pitch the harmony which our fathers transmitted to us. But if any of them were to play the buffoon, or turn any quavers, like these difficult turns the present artists make after the manner of Phrynus, he used to be thrashed, beaten with many

The good-mannered boys of old!

Aristophanes,
Clouds, 961 ff.

The Just Cause and the Unjust Cause are here pleading for the privilege of instructing the boy.

blows, for banishing the Muses. . . . Nor used it to be allowed, when one was dining, to take the head of a radish, or to snatch from their seniors dill or parsley, or to eat fish, or to giggle, or to keep the legs crossed. . . .

What to avoid.

Yet certainly these are the principles by which my system of education nurtured the men who fought at Marathon. But you teach the men of the present day, from their earliest years, to be wrapped up in himatia. . . . Wherefore, O youth, choose, with confidence, me, the better cause, and you will learn to hate the market-place, and to refrain from baths, and to be ashamed of what is disgraceful, and to be enraged if anyone jeer you, and to rise up from seats before your seniors when they approach, and not to behave ill toward your parents, and to do nothing else that is base, because you are to form in your mind an image of Modesty; . . . and not to contradict your father in anything; nor by calling him Iapetus, to reproach him with the ills of age, by which you were reared in your infancy.

Iapetus, as we might call one an antediluvian.

Unjust Cause. If you shall believe him in this, O youth, by Bacchus, you will be like the sons of Hippocrates, and they will call you a booby.

Just. Yet certainly shall you spend your time in the gymnastic schools, sleek, and blooming; not chattering in the market-place rude jests, like the youths of the present day; nor dragged into court for a petty suit, greedy, petty-fogging, knavish; but you shall descend to the Academy and run races beneath the sacred olives along with some modest compeer, crowned with white reeds, redolent of yew and careless ease and of leaf shedding white poplar, rejoicing in the season of spring, when the plane-tree whispers to the elm. If you do these things which I say, and apply your mind to these, you will

The Academy was a beautiful public garden a short distance north-west of Athens; Greece, 157.

ever have a stout chest, a clear complexion, broad shoulders, a little tongue. . . . But if you practice what the youths of the present day do, you will have, in the first place, a pallid complexion, small shoulders, a narrow chest, a large tongue, little hips. . . . And this deceiver will persuade you to consider everything that is base to be honorable, and what is honorable to be base.

VII. SELECTIONS FROM EURIPIDES

Chorus. Let Hades know, that swarthy god, and that old man who sits to row and steer alike at his death-ferry, that he hath carried o'er the lake of Acheron in his two-oared skiff a woman peerless amidst her sex. Oft of thee the Muses' votaries shall sing on the seven-stringed mountain shell and in hymns that need no harp, glorifying thee, oft as the season in his cycle cometh around at Sparta in that Carnean month when all night long the moon sails high o'erhead, yea, and in splendid Athens, happy town. So glorious a theme has thy death bequeathed to tuneful bards. Would it were in my power and range to bring thee to the light from the chambers of Hades and the streams of Cocytus with the oar that sweeps yon nether flood! For thou, and thou alone, most dear of women, hadst the courage to redeem thy husband from Hades in exchange for thy own life. Light lie the earth above thee, lady! And if ever thy lord take to him a new wife, I vow he will earn my hatred and thy children's too. . . .

Admetus. O the weary sorrow! O the grief for dear ones dead and gone! Why didst thou hinder me from plunging into the gaping grave, there to lay me down and die with her, my peerless bride? Then would Hades for that one have gotten these two faithful souls at once, crossing the nether lake together.

Alcestis dies in place of her husband.

Euripides,
Alcestis.

Ancient World, 241;
Greece, 219-222.

The Carnean was a great festival at Sparta.

Cocytus, a river of Epirus, here thought of as a river of the lower world.

Her husband is Admetus.

Admetus now regrets that he let her die for him.

Cho. I had a kinsman once, within whose home died his only son, worthy of a father's tears; yet in spite of that he bore his grief resignedly, childless though he was, his hair already turning grey, himself far on in years, upon life's downward track.

Adm. O house of mine, how can I enter thee? How can I live here, now that fortune turns against me? Ah me! How wide the gulf 'twixt then and now! Then with torches cut from Pelion's pines, with marriage hymns I entered in, holding my dear wife's hand; and at our back a crowd of friends with cheerful cries, singing the happy lot of my wife and me, calling us a noble pair made one, children both of highborn lineage; but now the voice of woe instead of wedding hymns, and robes of black instead of snowy white, usher me into my house to my deserted couch.

Chor. Hard upon prosperous fortune came this sorrow to thee, a stranger to adversity; yet hast thou saved thy soul alive. Thy wife is dead and gone; her love she leaves with thee. What new thing is here? Death ere now from many a man hath torn a wife.

Adm. My friends, I count my dead wife's lot more blest than mine, for all it seems not so; for nevermore can sorrow touch her forever; all her toil is over, and glorious is her fame. While I, who had no right to live, have passed the bounds of fate only to live a life of misery; I know it now. For how shall I endure to enter this my house? Whom shall I address, by whom be answered back, to find aught joyful in my entering in? Whither shall I turn? Within, the desolation will drive me forth, whensoever I see my widowed couch, the seat whereon she sat, the floor all dusty in the house, and my babes falling at my knees with piteous tears for their mother,

Pelion, a
mountain in
Thessaly.

He prefers
to die.

while my servants mourn the good mistress their house hath lost. These are the sorrows in my home, while abroad the marriages among Thessalians and the thronging crowds of women will drive me mad, for I can never bear to gaze upon the compeers of my wife. And whoso is my foe will taunt me thus, "Behold him living in his shame, a wretch who quailed at death himself, but of his coward heart gave up his wedded wife instead, and escaped from Hades; doth he deem himself a man after that? And he loathes his parents, though himself refused to die." Such ill reports shall I to my evils add. What profit then, my friends, for me to live, in fame and fortune ruined.

That princely state we fondly praise is pleasant to the eye; but yet in its mansions sorrow lurks; for who is happy, or by fortune blest, that has to live his life in fear of violence with many a sidelong glance? Rather would I live among the common folk, and taste their bliss, than be a tyrant who delights in making evil men his friends, and hates the good, in terror of his life. Perchance thou wilt tell me, "Gold outweighs all these evils and wealth is sweet." I have no wish to be abused for holding tightly to my pelf, nor yet to have the trouble of it. Be mine a moderate fortune free from annoyance! Now hear the blessings, father, that here were mine; first, leisure, man's chiefest joy, with but moderate trouble; no villain ever drove me from my path, and that is a grievance hard to bear, to make room and give way to sorry knaves. My duty was to pray unto the gods, or with mortal men converse, a minister to their joys, not to their sorrows. And I was ever dismissing one group of guests, while another took their place, so that I was always welcome from the

A humble office is better than a crown.

Euripides,
Ion.

He is a priest of his father Apollo at Delphi, but has been asked to take the kingship at Athens.

charm of novelty. That honesty which men must pray for, even against their will, custom and nature did conspire to plant in me in the sight of Phœbus. Now when I think on this, I deem that I am better here than there, father. So let me live on here, for 'tis an equal charm to joy in high estate, or in a humble fortune find a pleasure.

VIII. DEFENCE OF SOCRATES

Socrates is addressing the jury.

Plato, *Apology of Socrates*.

Ancient World, 243-5;
Greece, 223-6.

Anytus is one of his accusers.

Socrates' method of seeking the truth.

The true object of life.

Some one will say: And are you not ashamed, Socrates, of a course of life which is likely to bring you to an untimely end? To him I may fairly answer: There you are mistaken: a man who is good for anything ought not to calculate the chance of living or dying; he ought only to consider whether he in doing anything is doing right or wrong—acting the part of a good man or of a bad. . . .

And therefore if you let me go now, and are not convinced by Anytus, who said that since I had been prosecuted I must be put to death; or if not that, I ought never to have been prosecuted at all; and that if I escape now, your sons will all be utterly ruined by listening to my words—if you say to me, Socrates, this time we will not mind Anytus, and you shall be let off, but upon one condition, that you are not to inquire and speculate in this way any more, and that if you are caught doing so again you shall die;—if this were the condition on which you let me go, I should reply: Men of Athens, I honor and love you; but I shall obey God rather than you, and while I have life and strength I shall never cease from the practice and teaching of philosophy, exhorting every one whom I meet and saying to him after my manner: You my friend,—a citizen of the great and mighty and wise city of Athens,—are you not ashamed of heaping up the greatest amount of money and honor and reputation, and

caring so little about wisdom and truth and the greatest improvement of the soul, which you never regard or heed at all? And if the person with whom I am arguing says: Yes, but I do care; then I do not leave him or let him go at once; but I proceed to interrogate and examine and cross-examine him, and if I think that he has no virtue in him, but only says that he has, I reproach him with undervaluing the greater, and overvaluing the less. And I shall repeat the same words to everyone I meet, young and old, citizen and alien, but especially to the citizens, inasmuch as they are my brethren. For know that this is the command of God; and I believe that no greater good has ever happened in the state than my service to God. For I do nothing but go about persuading you all, old and young alike, not to take thought for your persons or your properties, but first and chiefly to care about the greatest improvement of the soul. I tell you that virtue is not given by money, but that from virtue comes money and every other good of man, public as well as private. This is my teaching, and if this is the doctrine which corrupts the youth, I am a mischievous person. But if any one says that this is not my teaching, he is speaking an untruth. Wherefore, O men of Athens, I say to you, do as Anytus bids or not as Anytus bids, and either acquit me or not; but whichever you do, understand that I never shall alter my ways, not even if I have to die many times. . . .

Let us reflect in another way, and we shall see that there is great reason to hope that death is a good; for one of two things—either death is a state of nothingness and utter unconsciousness, or as men say, there is a change and migration of the soul from this world to another. Now if you suppose that there is no consciousness, but a sleep

**Death is not
an evil.**

like the sleep of him who is even undisturbed by dreams, death will be an unspeakable gain. For if a person were to select the night in which his sleep was undisturbed even by dreams, and were to compare with this the other days and nights of his life, and then were to tell us how many days and nights he had passed in the course of his life better and more pleasantly than this one, I think that any man, I will not say a private man, but even the great king, will not find many such days or nights, when compared with the others. Now if death be of such a nature, I say that to die is gain; for eternity is then only a single night.

The judges
of the other
world are
just.

There we
shall meet
the famous
men of old.

But if death is the journey to another place, and there, as men say, all the dead abide, what good, O my friends and judges, can be greater than this? If indeed when the pilgrim arrives in the world below, he is delivered from the professors of justice in this world, and finds the true judges who are said to give judgment there, Minos and Rhadamanthus and Æacus and Triptolemus, and other sons of God who were righteous in their own life, that pilgrimage will be worth making. What would not a man give if he might converse with Orpheus and Musæus and Hesiod and Homer? Nay, if this be true, let me die again and again. I myself, too, shall have a wonderful interest in there meeting and conversing with Palamedes, and Ajax the son of Telamon, and any other ancient hero who has suffered death through an unjust judgment; and there will be no small pleasure, as I think, in comparing my own sufferings with theirs. Above all, I shall then be able to continue my search into true and false knowledge, as in this world so also in the next; and I shall find out who is wise, and who pretends to be wise, and is not. What would not a man give, O judges, to be able to ex-

amine the leader of the great Trojan expedition; or Odysseus, or Sisyphus, or numberless others, men and women, too! What infinite delight would there be in conversing with them and asking them questions! In another world they do not put a man to death for asking questions: assuredly not. For besides being happier than we are, they will be immortal, if what is said is true. . . .

The hour of departure has arrived, and we go our ways—I to die, and you to live. Which is better God only knows.

IX. THE ERECHTHEUM AND THE WORSHIP OF ATHENA

There is also a building called the Erechtheum. Before the entrance is an altar of Supreme Zeus, where they sacrifice no living thing; but they lay cakes on it, and having done so they are forbidden by custom to make use of wine. Inside of the building are altars: one of Poseidon, on which they sacrifice also to Erechtheus in obedience to an oracle; one of the hero Butes; and one of Hephæstus. On the walls are paintings of the family of the Butads. Within, for the building is double, there is sea-water in a well. This is not surprising, for the same thing may be seen in inland places, as at Aphrodisias in Caria. But what is remarkable about this well is that, when the south wind has been blowing, the well gives forth a sound of waves; and there is the shape of a trident in the rock. These things are said to have been the evidence produced by Poseidon in support of his claim to the country.

The rest of the city and the whole land are equally sacred to Athena; for although the worship of other gods is established in the townships, the inhabitants none the less hold Athena in honor. But the object which was universally deemed the holy of holies many years before the union of the townships, is an image of Athena in what

Interior of the temple.

Pausanias, i. 26.

Ancient World, 239.

The Butads were the priestly gens which attended to the worship of Poseidon.

Ancient World, 93.

240 Sicilian Expedition to End of War

is now called the Acropolis, but what was then called the city. The legend is that the image fell from heaven, but whether this was so or not I will not inquire.

STUDIES

1. With what feelings did the Athenians despatch the expedition to Sicily? Describe the condition of the armament. What ceremonies attended the departure? What was to be the course of the fleet? Why was this route taken?

2. Who were Demosthenes and Nicias (*Ancient World*, 229, 231)? Why did not the defeated Athenians sail away from Syracuse? Describe the fate of the Athenians?

3. Describe the appearance of Alcibiades; his character. What characteristics are illustrated by the two anecdotes of his childhood? What was his musical education? What objections had he to the flute? What influence had Socrates over him? What light do the circumstances of his marriage throw upon his character? What general impression of him do you gain from this entire passage from Plutarch?

4. What were the terms of peace at the close of the Peloponnesian war? Were they warranted by the circumstances? Who was Ly-sander?

5. On what subjects did Aristophanes write? What does he think of his fellow-citizens of alien birth? Were there many such at Athens? What opinion had he of manufacturers?

6. What qualities of the old kind of education does the "Just Cause" think admirable? What advantages accrue from the good old kind of education?

7. Describe the character of Alcestis. What was the sentiment as to second marriages? What was the feeling of Admetus toward his deceased wife? What is his view of death? What is the leading idea in the selection from the *Ion*?

8. What had been Socrates' daily occupation? What had he been trying to teach his fellow-citizens? On what charge was he tried? What did he think of death? What did he hope to do in the next world? Who is the author of this passage, and what connection had he with Socrates?

9. What objects of interest did Pausanias find in the Erechtheum? Why was the building double?

CHAPTER XXI

SICILY: THE TYRANT AND THE LIBERATOR

I. PREPARATION FOR WAR WITH CARTHAGE

HAVING now a good opportunity to wage war against them, (the Carthaginians), as he thought, he resolved first to make the necessary preparation; for he understood that the contest would be great and of long duration, as he was about to engage with the most powerful nation that had a footing in Europe. He accordingly collected artisans, by a levy, from all the cities under his rule, and others from Italy and Greece and from the Carthaginian dominion, attracting them by the offer of high wages.

And he aimed also to provide a vast number of arms and missiles of every description, and in addition quadriremes and quinqueremes, none of the latter ever having been built up to that time. After a great number of artisans had been collected he organized them in companies according to their several trades, and placed them under the superintendence of the most respectable citizens, offering great rewards to the makers of arms. Inasmuch as mercenaries had been brought together from various nations, he himself assigned the arms according to their several forms and fashions; for he encouraged each soldier to equip himself with his own weapons; as he reasoned that thus the army would strike great terror in the enemy, and that in battle the contestants would best know how to use their customary equipments.

Dionysius collects workmen.

Diodorus
xiv. 41.

This war began in 397
B.C.; *Ancient World*, 247 f.;
Greece, 242 f.

He provides arms and warships.

His shipwrights invent quinqueremes.

**Enthusiasm
of the Syra-
cusans.**

As the Syracusans did all in their power to forward his design, the greatest emulation was shown in the preparation. Not only were the front and back porches of the temples, the gymnasia, and the porticoes of the marketplace filled with workmen, but also apart from public places, in the most illustrious private houses arms of all kinds were being manufactured.

**The tyrant
becomes
popular.**

Diodorus
xiv. 42.

Catapult, a huge cross-bow for hurling heavy bolts; afterward so modified as to throw stones and lumps of lead. Herebefore the only siege engine was the battering ram.

**The wood
was needed
for the ships.**

At this time the catapult was invented in Syracuse, for the most excellent artisans were gathered here from all sides. Zeal was inflamed by the high wages, and the greatness of the rewards that awaited those who were judged superior. In addition to these inducements Dionysius himself went daily among the workmen, talked courteously with them, honored the most diligent with gifts, or invited them to dine with him. The mechanics, therefore, vying with each other in the utmost rivalry, devised new and strange missiles and engines which proved exceedingly serviceable. He began, too, to build quadriremes and quinqueremes, being the first to invent this kind of ship. For hearing that the first triremes were built in Corinth, Dionysius was anxious that a colony of hers should have credit for extending the plan of the war ship. After arranging to obtain a supply of wood from Italy, he sent half of his woodcutters to Mount Etna, which then abounded with pine and fir, and the other half to Italy; and provided teams for hauling the wood to the sea, and boats and oarsmen to bring the rafts as speedily as possible to Syracuse.

When Dionysius had thus collected a sufficient supply of wood, he forthwith began to build more than two hundred war ships and to refit the hundred and ten old ones. Furthermore he erected expensive holds round the harbor, for receiving the ships, to the number of one hun-

dred and sixty, many of which would receive two ships apiece. He likewise repaired and covered over with new planks one hundred and fifty old and useless vessels.

The preparation of so many arms and ships in one locality struck the beholder with admiration. If in fact a man only noticed the attention bestowed on the ships, he would presently conclude that all the Sicilians were engaged in building them; and then to turn and look upon the army and engines, he would judge that there the height of skill was expended on them. The zeal devoted to them could not be surpassed, yet there were prepared in addition 140,000 bucklers, and as many swords and helmets. There were forged, too, 14,000 corselets of all sorts of excellent workmanship. These equipments he assigned to the horse and to the colonels and captains of the foot, and to the mercenaries who formed his lifeguard. He prepared likewise catapults of all kinds and a vast number of missiles. The city of Syracuse provided one half of the galleys with captains, pilots, and oarsmen of their own citizens. For the rest Dionysius hired foreigners. After all the ships and arms were ready and complete, he began to call his soldiers together; for he thought it advisable not to hire them long in advance, that he might avoid expense.

The amazing activity of Syracuse.

Ib. 43.

The importance of these preparations lies in the fact that they enabled Dionysius to stem the tide of Carthaginian invasion which menaced, not only Sicily, but Europe; *Ancient World*, 249.

II. THE OLD AGE OF TIMOLEON

In this fashion the tyrannies were put down by Timoleon, and the wars finished. The whole island, which had become a mere wilderness through the constant wars and was grown hateful to the very natives, under his administration became so civilized and desirable a country that colonists sailed to it from those very places to which its own citizens had formerly betaken themselves to escape

The liberation completed.

Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 35.

Greece, 246-8; *Ancient World*, 249 f.

244 Sicily : the Tyrant and the Liberator

from it. For Acragas and Gela, large cities, which after the war with Athens had been destroyed by the Carthaginians, were now repeopled. . . .

**Respect for
the Libera-
tor.**

While these cities were being reorganized, Timoleon not only afforded them peace and safety, but also gave them great assistance, and showed so keen an interest in them that he was loved and respected by them as their real Founder. All the other cities also looked upon him with the same feelings, so that no peace could be made by them, no laws established, no country divided among settlers, no constitutional changes made that seemed satisfactory, unless he had a hand in them, and arranged them just as an architect, when a building is finished, gives some graceful touches which adorn the whole. . . .

**His private
life.**

Plut., *Tim.*,
36.

He lived in a house which the Syracusans had bestowed upon him as a special prize for his successes as general, and also the most beautiful and pleasant country seat, where indeed he spent most of his leisure with his wife and children, whom he had sent for from Corinth. For he never returned to Corinth, nor mixed himself in the troubles of Greece, nor did he expose himself to the hatred of political faction, which is the rock upon which great generals commonly split in their insatiate thirst for honor and power; but he remained in Sicily, enjoying the blessings of which he was the author; the greatest of which was to see so many cities, and so many tens of thousands, all made happy and prosperous by his means. . . .

A passage
here omitted
speaks of his
becoming
blind.

**His popular-
ity and in-
fluence.**

Plut., *Tim.*,
38.

That he endured his misfortune without repining is not to be wondered at; but one must admire the respect and love shown him when blind by the people of Syracuse. They constantly visited him, and brought with them any strangers that might be staying with them, both to his town and country house, to show them their benefactor,

glorying in the fact that he had chosen to spend his life amongst them, and had scorned the magnificent reception which his exploits would have ensured him had he returned to Greece. Of the many important tributes to his worth none was greater than the decree of the Syracusans, that whenever they should be engaged in war with foreign tribes they would have a Corinthian for their general. Great honor was also reflected upon him by their conduct in the public assembly; for though they managed ordinary business by themselves, on the occasion of any important debate they used to call him in. Then he would drive through the market-place into the theatre; and when the carriage in which he sat was brought in, the people would rise and salute him with one voice. Having returned their greeting, and allowed a short time for their cheers and blessings, he would hear the disputed point debated, and then give his opinion. When this had been voted upon, his servants would lead his carriage out of the theatre, while the citizens, cheering and applauding him as he went, proceeded to despatch their other business without him.

Cherished in his old age with such respect and honor, as the common father of his country, Timoleon at length after a slight illness died. Some time was given for the Syracusans to prepare his funeral, and for neighbors and foreigners to assemble, so that the ceremony was performed with great splendor. The bier, magnificently adorned, and carried by young men chosen by lot, passed over the place where the Castle of Dionysius had once been pulled down. The procession was joined by tens of thousands of men and women, whose appearance was gay enough for a festival, for they all wore garlands and white robes. Their lamentations and tears, mingled with

**His death
and public
funeral.**

Ib. 39.

their praises of the deceased, showed that they were not performing this ceremony as a matter of mere outward respect and compliance with a decree, but that they expressed real sorrow and loving gratitude. At last, when the body was placed upon the pyre, Demetrius, the loudest-voiced of the heralds at that time, read aloud the following decree:

He is to be worshipped as a hero.

It was customary thus to worship the founder of a city.

"The Syracusan people solemnise, at the cost of two hundred minæ, the funeral of this man, the Corinthian Timoleon, son of Timodemus. They have passed a vote to honor him for all future time with festival matches in music, horse and chariot races, and gymnastics, because after having put down the despots, subdued the foreign enemy, and recolonized the greatest among the ruined cities, he restored to the Sicilian Greeks their constitution and laws."

STUDIES

1. From this selection what preparations seem to have been necessary for any great war? What did Dionysius have that had never been used before? How could old ships be refitted? How did the Syracusans show their zeal for the war? How can you account for this feeling and for the popularity of Dionysius? What was at stake in the war? When did the writer of this selection live and from what source did he draw his information?

2. Why was Timoleon so highly honored? Enumerate the kinds of work in which he had a hand after the establishment of peace. How did they repay him for his services? What do you infer as to his character?

CHAPTER XXII

THE SUPREMACY OF SPARTA

I. THE FALL OF THE THIRTY

PRESENTLY Thrasybulus with about seventy followers sallied out from Thebes, and made himself master of the fortress of Phyle. The weather was brilliant, and the Thirty marched out of the city to repel the invader; with them were the Three Thousand and the Knights. When they reached the place, some of the young men, in the foolhardiness of youth, made a dash at the fortress, but without effect; all they got was wounds and so retired. The intention of the Thirty now was to blockade the place; by shutting off all the avenues of supply they thought to force the garrison to capitulate. But this project was interrupted by a steady downfall of snow that night and the following day. Baffled by this all-pervading enemy, they beat a retreat to the city but not without the sacrifice of many of their camp followers, who fell a prey to the men in Phyle. The next anxiety of the government in Athens was to secure the farms and country houses against the plunderings and forays to which they would be exposed, if there were no armed force to protect them. With this object a protecting force was despatched to the "boundary estates" about two miles this side of Phyle. This corps consisted of the Lacedemonian guards, or nearly all of them, and two divisions of horse. They encamped in a wild and broken district, and the round of their duties commenced.

The patriots at Phyle.

Xenophon, *Hellenica*, ii. 4.

Greece, 251-6; *Ancient World*, 253.

These patriots had been exiled by the Thirty, and were now returning by force.

The Thirty had received from Sparta a body of guards for protection.

The patriots
attack the
camp of the
enemy.

But by this time the small garrison above them had increased tenfold, until there were now about seven hundred men collected in Phyle; and with this force Thrasybulus one night descended. When he was not quite half a mile from the enemy's encampment he grounded arms, and a deep silence was maintained until it drew toward day. In a little while the men opposite, one by one, were getting to their legs or leaving the camp for necessary purposes, while a suppressed din and murmur arose, caused by the grooms currying and combing their horses. This was the moment for Thrasybulus and his men to snatch up their arms and make a dash at the enemy's position. Some they felled on the spot; and routing the whole body, pursued them six or seven stadia, killing one hundred and twenty hoplites and more. Of the cavalry, Nicostratus, "the beautiful," as men called him, and two others besides were slain; they were caught while still in their beds. Returning from the pursuit, the victors set up a trophy, got together all the arms they had taken, besides baggage, and retired again to Phyle. A reinforcement of horse sent from the city could not discover the vestige of a foe, but waited on the scene of battle until the bodies of the slain had been picked up by their relatives, whereupon they withdrew again to the city. . . .

Hoplites are
heavy-armed
infantry.

The patriots
occupy Pei-
ræus.

But now Thrasybulus at the head of his followers, by this time about one thousand strong, descended from Phyle and reached Peiræus in the night. The Thirty, on their side, informed of this new move, were not slow to come to the rescue with the Laconian guards, supported by their own cavalry and hoplites. And so they advanced, marching down along the broad carriage road which leads into Peiræus. The men from Phyle seemed

at first inclined to dispute their passage, but as the wide circuit of the walls needed a defence beyond the reach of their still scanty numbers, they fell back in a compact body upon Munychia. Then the troops from the city poured into the market-place of Hippodamus. Here they formed in line, stretching along and filling the street which leads to the temple of Artemis and the Bendideum. This line must have been at least fifty shields deep; and in this formation they at once began to march up. As to the men of Phyle, they too blocked the street at the opposite end, and faced the foe. They presented only a thin line not more than ten deep, though behind them were ranged a body of targeteers and light-armed, javelin throwers, who were again supported by an artillery of stone-slingers—a tolerably numerous division drawn from the population of the port and district itself. While his antagonists were still advancing, Thrasybulus gave the order to ground their heavy shields; and having done so himself, whilst retaining the rest of his arms, he stood in the midst, and thus addressed them:

“Men and fellow-citizens, I wish to inform some of you, and to remind others that of the force you see advancing beneath us there, the right division are the very men we routed and pursued only five days ago; while on the extreme left there you see the Thirty. These are the men who have not spared to rob us of our city, though we did no wrong; who have hounded us from our homes; who have set the seal of proscription on our dearest friends. But to-day the wheel of fortune has revolved; that has come about which least of all they looked for, which most of all we prayed for. Here we stand with our good swords in our hands, face to face with our foes; and the gods themselves are with us, seeing that we are arrested in the

Munychia, a hill, the citadel of Peiræus; Hippodamus, the civil engineer, who had planned the city; Bendideum, a shrine to a Thracian goddess.

The battle in Peiræus.

Address of Thrasybulus.

midst of our peaceful pursuits; at any moment, whilst we supped or slept or marketed, sentence of banishment was passed upon us. We had done no wrong,—nay, many of us were not even resident in the country. To-day therefore, I repeat, the gods do visibly fight upon our side; the great gods, who raise a tempest even in the midst of calm, for our benefit, and when we lay our hand to fight, enable our little company to set up the trophy of victory over the multitude of our foes. On this day they have brought us hither to a place where the steep ascent must needs hinder our foes from reaching with lance or arrow further than our foremost ranks; but we with our volley of spears and arrows and stones cannot fail to reach them with terrible effect. Had we been forced to meet them vanguard to vanguard on an equal footing, who could have been surprised? But as it is, all I say to you is, let fly your missiles with a will in right brave style. No one can miss his mark when the road is full of them. To avoid our darts they must forever be ducking and skulking beneath their shields; but we will rain blows upon them in their blindness; we will leap upon them and lay them low. But, O sirs! let me call upon you so to bear yourselves that each shall be conscious to himself that the victory was won by him and by him alone. Victory which, God willing, shall this day restore to us the land of our fathers, our homes, our freedom, and the rewards of civic life, our children, if children we have, our darlings, our wives! Thrice happy those among us who as conquerors shall look upon this gladdest of all days. Nor less fortunate the man who falls to-day. Not all the wealth in the world shall purchase him a monument so glorious. At the right instant I will strike the keynote of the pæan; then with an invocation to the God of battle, and in return for

What victory
will bring us.

the wanton insults they put upon us, let us with one accord wreak vengeance on yonder men."

Having so spoken, he turned round, facing the foemen, and kept quiet; for the order passed by the soothsayer enjoined on them not to charge before one of their side was slain or wounded. "As soon as that happens," said the seer, "we will lead you onwards, and the victory shall be yours; but for myself, if I err not, death is waiting." And herein he spoke truly, for they had barely resumed their arms when he himself, as though he were driven by some fatal hand, leapt out in front of the ranks, and so springing into the midst of the foe, was slain, and lies now buried at the passage of the Cephissus. But the rest were victorious, and pursued the routed enemy down to the level ground. There fell in this engagement, from the number of the Thirty, Critias himself and Hippomachus, and with them Charmides, the son of Glaucon, one of the ten archons in Peiræus, and of the rest about seventy men. The arms of the slain were taken; but as fellow-citizens, the conquerors forebore to despoil them of their coats.

The battle.

II. RETREAT OF THE TEN THOUSAND THROUGH THE SNOWS OF ARMENIA

From this point they marched three desert stages—fifteen parasangs—to the river Euphrates, and crossed it in water up to the waist. The sources of the river were reported to be at no great distance. From this place they marched through deep snow over a flat country three stages—fifteen parasangs. The last of these marches was trying, with the north wind blowing in their teeth, drying up everything and benumbing the men. Here one of the seers suggested to them to do sacrifice to Boreas, and sacrifice was done. The effect was obvious to all in the

A march in the storm.

Xenophon,
Anabasis,
iv. 5.

*Ancient
World*, 253
ff.; *Greece*,
261 f.

A parasang,
Persian
measure of
distance,
was a little

more than
three miles;
Boreas, god
of the north
wind.

They camp
in the snow.

Hunger-
faintness.

Freezing to
death.

diminished fierceness of the blast. But there were six feet of snow, so that many of the baggage animals and slaves were lost, and about thirty of the men themselves.

They spent the whole night in kindling fire; for there was fortunately no dearth of wood at the halting-place; only those who came late into camp had no wood. Accordingly those who had arrived a good while and had kindled fires were not for allowing these late-comers near their fires, unless they would in return give a share of their corn or of any other victuals they might have. Here then a general exchange of goods was set up. Where the fire was kindled the snow melted, and great trenches formed themselves down to the bare earth, and here it was possible to measure the depth of the snow.

Leaving these quarters, they marched the whole of the next day over snow, and many of the men were afflicted with hunger-faintness. Xenophon, who was guarding the rear, came upon some men who had dropt down, and he did not know what ailed them; but some one who was experienced in such matters suggested to him that they were evidently faint; and if they got something to eat, they would revive. Then he went the round of the baggage train, and laying an embargo on any eatables he could see, doled it out with his own hands, or sent off other able-bodied agents to distribute it to the sufferers, who as soon as they had taken a mouthful got on their legs again and continued the march. . . .

On the heels of the army hung perpetually bands of the enemy, snatching away disabled baggage animals and fighting with each other over the carcasses. And in its track not seldom were left to their fate disabled soldiers, struck down with snow-blindness or with toes mortified by frost-bite. As to the eyes, it was some alleviation against the

snow to march with something black before them; for the feet, the only remedy was to keep in motion without stopping for an instant, and to loose the sandal at night. If they went to sleep with the sandals on, the thong worked into the feet and the sandals were frozen fast to them. This was partly due to the fact that, since their old sandals had failed, they wore untanned brogues made of newly flayed ox-hides. It was owing to some such dire necessity that a party of men fell out and were left behind, and seeing a black-looking patch of ground where the snow had evidently disappeared, they conjectured it must have been melted; and this was actually so, owing to a spring of some sort which was to be seen steaming up in a dell close by. To this they had turned aside and sat down and were loth to go a step further. But Xenophon with his rearguard perceived them, and begged and implored them by all manner of means not to remain behind, telling them that the enemy were after them in large packs pursuing; and he ended by growing angry. They merely bade him put a knife to their throats; not one step further would they stir. Then it seemed best to frighten the pursuing enemy if possible, and to prevent their falling upon the invalids. It was already dusk, and the pursuers were advancing with much noise and hubbub, wrangling and disputing over their spoils. Then all of a sudden the rearguard, in the plenitude of health and strength, sprang up out of their lair and ran upon the enemy, whilst those weary wights bawled out as loud as their sick throats could sound, and dashed their spears against their shields; and the enemy in terror hurled themselves through the snow into the dell, and not one of them ever uttered a sound again.

Xenophon and his party, telling the sick folk that next day people would come for them, set off and before they

Some give
up in de-
spair.

Unable to
march
farther.

had gone half a mile, they fell in with some soldiers who had laid down to rest on the snow with their cloaks wrapped round them; but never a guard was established, and they made them get up. Their explanation was that those in front would not move on. Passing by this group, he sent forward the strongest of his light infantry in advance with orders to find out what the stoppage was. They reported that the whole army lay reposing in the same fashion. That being so, Xenophon's men had nothing for it but to bivouac in the open air also, without fire and supperless, merely posting what pickets they could under the circumstances. But as soon as it drew toward day, Xenophon despatched the youngest of his men to the sick folk behind, with orders to make them get up and to force them to proceed. Meanwhile Cheirisophus had sent some of his men quartered in the village to inquire how they fared in the rear; they were overjoyed to see them, and handed over the sick folk to them to carry into camp, while they themselves continued their march forward, and ere twenty stadia were past, reached the village in which Cheirisophus was quartered. As soon as the two divisions were met, the resolution was come to that it would be safe to billet the regiments throughout the villages; Cheirisophus remained where he was, while the rest drew lots for the villages in sight, and then, with their several detachments, marched off to their respective destinations.

They reach
some vil-
lages.

Cheirisophus,
one of the
commanders,
a Spartan.

The villagers
and their
dwellings.

It was here that Polycrates, an Athenian and captain of a company, asked for leave of absence. He wished to be off on a quest of his own; and putting himself at the head of the active men of the division, he ran to the village which had been allotted to Xenophon. He surprised within it the villagers with their headman, and seventeen

young horses which were being reared as a tribute for the king, and last of all the headman's own daughter, a young bride only eight days wed. Her husband had gone off to chase hares, and so he escaped being taken with the other villagers. The houses were underground structures with an aperture like the mouth of a well by which to enter; but they were broad and spacious below. The entrance for the beasts of burden was dug out, but the human occupants descended by a ladder. In these dwellings were to be found goats and sheep and cattle, and cocks and hens, with their various progeny. The flocks and herds were all reared under cover upon green food. There were stores within of wheat and barley and vegetables, and wine made from barley in great bowls; the grains of barley malt lay floating in the beverage up to the lip of the vessel, and reeds lay in them, some longer some shorter without joints; when you were thirsty you had to take one of these into your mouth and suck. The beverage without admixture of water was very strong, and of a delicious flavor to certain palates, but the taste must be acquired.

Xenophon made the headman of the village his guest at supper, and bade him keep a good heart; so far from robbing him of his children, they would fill his house full of good things in return for what they took before they went away; only he must set them an example, and discover some blessing or other for the army, until they found themselves with another tribe. To this he readily assented, and with the utmost cordiality showed them the cellar where the wine was buried. For this night then, having taken up their several quarters as described, they slumbered in the midst of plenty, one and all, with the headman under watch and ward, and his children with him safe in sight.

III. THE VIOLENCE OF SPARTA

The climax
of Sparta's
power, 379
B.C.

Xenophon,
Hellenica,
v. 3.

On every side the affairs of Lacedemon had signally prospered: Thebes and the rest of the Bœotian states lay absolutely at her feet; Corinth had become her most faithful ally; Argos . . . was humbled to the dust; Athens was isolated; and lastly, those of her own allies who displayed a hostile feeling toward her had been punished; so that, to all outward appearance, the foundations of her empire were at length absolutely well and firmly laid.

The guilty
cannot es-
cape punish-
ment.

Ib. 4.

*Ancient
World*, 257;
Greece, 268 f.

Abundant examples might be found alike in Hellenic and in foreign history, to prove that the Divine powers mark what is done amiss, winking neither at impiety nor at the commission of unhallowed acts; but at present I confine myself to the facts before me. The Lacedemonians, who had pledged themselves by oath to leave the states independent, had laid violent hands on the acropolis of Thebes, and were eventually punished by the victims of that iniquity single-handed,—the Lacedemonians, be it noted, who had never before been mastered by living man.

STUDIES

1. Where was Phyle and who was Thrasybulus (*Ancient World*, 253)? Who were the Thirty, and why did they attack the patriots at Phyle? What may we learn of camp life from this passage? Where was Peiræus? How was it connected with Athens? How did Thrasybulus arrange his forces for battle? What was the advantage of their position? From his speech what may we learn as to the ruling party at Athens and the exiles respectively? What part did he think the gods had taken in the conflict thus far? What motives to bravery had his men? What part had the soothsayer in the proceedings? How were the military movements influenced by religion? Who was the author of this selection, and when did he live relatively to the events narrated? What is the reliability of the story?

2. Who were the Ten Thousand? How did they mitigate the north wind? What were their other difficulties? Who tells this story? What part had he in the retreat? What had he to do to keep the army moving? Describe the villages and their inhabitants. Why did they live underground? What was their favorite beverage? How were they treated by the Greeks? From this selection what do you infer as to the character of these Greek mercenaries?

3. What was the condition of Greece and of Sparta in 379? What was Xenophon's idea of Providence in human affairs? From all these selections from Xenophon what may we infer as his religious beliefs?

CHAPTER XXIII

THEBES ATTEMPTS TO GAIN THE SUPREMACY

I. EPAMINONDAS

**Family and
education.**

Nepos,
*Epaminon-
das*, 1 f.

Greece, 275-
83; *Ancient
World*, 260-
67.

On Pythag-
oras; *An-
cient World*,
155.

EPAMINONDAS was the son of Polumnis, and was born at Thebes. . . . He was of an honorable family, though left poor by his ancestors; but he was so well-educated that no Theban was more so; for he was taught to play upon the harp, and to sing to the sound of its strings, by Dionysius, who was held in no less honor among musicians than Damon or Lamprus, whose names are well known; to play on the flutes by Olympiodorus; and to dance by Calliphron. For his instructor in philosophy he had Lysis of Tarentum, a Pythagorean, to whom he was so devoted that, young as he was, he preferred the society of a grave and austere old man before that of all those of his own age; nor did he part with him until he so far excelled his fellow students in learning, that it might easily be perceived he would in like manner excel them all in other pursuits. These acquirements according to our habits are trifling, and rather to be despised; but in Greece, at least in former times, they were a great subject for praise. After he grew up, and began to apply himself to gymnastic exercises, he studied not so much to increase his strength as the agility of his body; for he thought that strength suited the purpose of wrestlers, but that agility conduced to excellence in war. He used to exercise himself very much, therefore, in running and wrestling, as

long as he could grapple with his adversary and contend standing. But he spent most of his labor on martial exercises.

To the strength of body thus acquired, were added many good qualities of the mind; for he was modest, prudent, grave, wisely availing himself of opportunities, skilled in war, brave in action, and possessed of remarkable courage. He was so great a lover of truth that he would not tell a falsehood even in jest; he was also master of his passions, gentle in disposition, and patient to a wonderful degree, submitting to wrong not only from the people, but from his own friends; he was a remarkable keeper of secrets, a quality which is sometimes not less serviceable than eloquence; and he was an attentive listener to others, because he thought that by this means knowledge was most easily acquired. Whenever he came into a company, therefore, in which a discussion was going on concerning government, or a conversation was being held on any point in philosophy, he never went away till the discourse was brought to its conclusion. He bore poverty so easily that he received nothing from the state but glory. He did not avail himself of the means of his friends to maintain himself; but he often used his credit to relieve others, to such a degree that it might be thought all things were in common between him and his friends;

He was of a patient disposition, and ready to endure wrongs from his countrymen, because he thought it a species of impiety to show resentment towards his country. There are the following proofs. When the Thebans from some feeling of displeasure towards him refused to place him at the head of the army, a leader was chosen who was ignorant of war, by whose mismanagement a great multitude of soldiers was brought to such a condi-

His moral character.

Nep. Ep. 3.

His patience and humanity.

Ib. 7.

tion that all were alarmed for their safety. They were confined within a narrow space and blocked up by the enemy, whereupon the energy of Epaminondas began to be in request, for he was there as a private among the soldiers. When they desired aid from him, he showed no recollection of the affront that had been put upon him, but brought the army safely home after releasing it from the blockade. Nor did he act in this manner once only but often.

He violates
the law to
win a vic-
tory.

The most remarkable instance was when he had led an army into the Peloponnesus against the Lacedemonians, and had two joined in command with him, of whom one was Pelopidas, a man of valor and activity. On this occasion, when through the accusations of their enemies they had all fallen under the displeasure of their countrymen, and their commission was in consequence taken from them and other commanders came to take their places, Epaminondas did not obey the order of the people, and persuaded his colleagues to follow his example, continuing to prosecute the war which he had undertaken; for he saw that unless he did so, the whole army would be lost through the incautiousness and ignorance of its leaders. But there was a law at Thebes, which punished anyone with death who retained his command longer than he was legally appointed. Epaminondas, however, as he saw that this law had been made for the purpose of preserving the state, was unwilling to make it contribute to its ruin, and continued to exercise his command four months longer than the people had prescribed.

He defends
his conduct.

Nep. Ep. 8.

When they returned home, his colleagues were impeached for this offence, and he gave them leave to lay all the blame upon him, and to maintain that it was through his means that they did not obey the law. As they were

freed from danger by this defence, nobody thought Epaminondas would make any reply, because it was supposed he would have nothing to say. But he stood forth on the trial, denied nothing of what his adversaries laid to his charge, and admitted the truth of all that his colleagues had stated; nor did he refuse to submit to the penalty of the law; but he requested of his countrymen one favor, namely, that they would write the following in their judicial record of the sentence passed upon him: "Epaminondas was punished by the Thebans with death, because he obliged them to overthrow the Lacedemonians at Leuctra, whom, before he was general, none of the Bœotians durst look upon in the field, and because he not only by one battle rescued Thebes from destruction, but also secured liberty for all Greece, and brought the power of both people to such a condition that the Thebans attacked Sparta, and the Lacedemonians were content if they could save their lives; nor did he cease to prosecute the war till after settling Messene, he shut up Sparta with a close siege." When he had said this, there burst forth a laugh from all present, with much merriment, and no one of the judges ventured to pass sentence upon him. Thus he came off from this trial for life with the greatest glory.

*Ancient
World, 260 f.*

II. THE BATTLE OF MANTINEA

Far more wonderful to my mind was the pitch of perfection to which he had brought his army. There was no labor which his troops would shrink from, either by night or by day; there was no danger they would flinch from; and with the scantiest provisions, their discipline never failed them.

**High spirit
of the
soldiers of
Epaminon-
das.**

*Xenophon,
Hellenica,
vii. 5.*

And so, when he gave his last orders to them to prepare for impending battle, they obeyed with alacrity. He gave

The club of
Heracles was
the Theban
coat of arms.

the word; the cavalry fell to whitening their helmets, the heavy infantry of the Arcadians began inscribing clubs as the crest on their shields, as though they were Thebans, and all were engaged in sharpening their lances and swords and polishing their heavy shields. When the preparations were complete and he had led them out, his next movement is worthy of attention. First, as was natural, he paid heed to their formation, and in so doing seemed to give clear evidence that he intended battle; but no sooner was the army drawn up in the formation which he preferred than he advanced, not by the shortest route to meet the enemy, but toward the westward-lying mountains which face Tegea, and by this movement created in the enemy an expectation that he would not do battle on that day. In keeping with this expectation, as soon as he arrived at the mountain-region, he extended his phalanx in long line and piled arms under the high cliffs; and to all appearance he was there encamping. The effect of this manœuvre on the enemy in general was to relax the prepared bent of their souls for battle, and to weaken their tactical arrangements. Presently, however, wheeling his regiments, which were marching in column, to the front, with the effect of strengthening the beak-like attack which he proposed to lead himself, at the same instant he gave the order, "Shoulder arms, forward," and led the way, the troops following.

He deceives
the enemy.

His tactics.

When the enemy saw them so unexpectedly approaching, not one of them was able to maintain tranquillity. Some began running to their divisions, some fell into line, some might be seen biting and bridling their horses, some donning their cuirasses, and one and all were like men about to receive rather than to inflict a blow. Meanwhile he with steady impetus pushed forward his armament,

like a ship-of-war prow forward. Wherever he brought his solid wedge to bear, he meant to cleave through the opposing mass and crumble his adversary's host to pieces. With this design he prepared to throw the brunt of the fighting on the strongest half of his army, while he kept the weaker portion of it in the background, knowing certainly that if worsted it would only cause discouragement to his own division and add force to the foe. The cavalry on the side of his opponents were disposed like an ordinary phalanx of heavy infantry, regular in depth and unsupported by foot-soldiers interspersed among the horses. Epaminondas again differed in strengthening the attacking point of his cavalry, besides which he interspersed footmen between their lines in the belief that, when he had once cut through the cavalry, he would have wrested victory from the antagonist along his whole line; so hard is it to find troops who will care to keep their ground when once they see any of their own side flying. Lastly, to prevent any attempt on the part of the Athenians, who were on the enemy's left wing, to bring up their reliefs in support of the portion next them, he posted bodies of cavalry and heavy infantry on certain hillocks in front of them, intending to create in their minds an apprehension that, in case they offered such assistance, they would be attacked on their own rear by these detachments. Such was the plan of encounter which he formed and executed; nor was he cheated in his hopes. He had so much the mastery at his point of attack that he caused the whole of the enemy's troops to take to flight.

At this point he was mortally wounded.

But after he himself had fallen, the rest of the Thebans were not able any longer to turn their victory rightly to account. Though the main battle line of their opponents had given way, not a single man afterward did the victori-

Effect of his death.

ous hoplites slay, not an inch forward did they advance from the ground on which the collision took place. Although the cavalry had fled before them, there was no pursuit; not a man, horseman or hoplite, did the conquering cavalry cut down; but like men who have suffered a defeat, as if panic-stricken they slipped back through the ranks of the fleeing foemen. Only the footmen fighting amongst the cavalry and the light infantry, who had together shared the victory of the cavalry, found their way round to the left wing as masters of the field, but it cost them dear; here they encountered the Athenians, and most of them were cut down.

Results of
the battle.

*Ancient
World*, 266 f.

The effective result of these achievements was the very opposite of that which the world at large anticipated. Here, where well-nigh the whole of Hellas was met together in one field, and the combatants stood rank against rank confronted, there was no one who doubted that, in the event of battle, the conquerors this day would rule; and that those who lost would be their subjects. But God so ordered it that both belligerents alike set up trophies as claiming victory, and neither interfered with the other in the act. Both parties alike gave back their enemy's dead under a truce, and in right of victory; both alike, in symbol of defeat, under a truce took back their dead. And though both claimed to have won the day, neither could show that thereby he had gained any accession of territory, or state, or empire, or was better situated than before the battle. Uncertainty and confusion, indeed, had gained ground, being tenfold greater throughout the length and breath of Hellas after the battle than before.

STUDIES

1. Describe the education of Epaminondas in music and philosophy. When Nepos speaks of "our habits," to whom does he refer? Who was he, and when did he live? How did Epaminondas prepare himself for military life? Describe his character. How did he justify his violation of law? Was he right or wrong?

2. How may we account for the enthusiasm of his troops on the eve of battle? What preparations did they make for battle? How did he deceive the enemy? Describe his tactics in the battle. In what respects were his arrangements superior to those of the enemy? What was the effect of his death? What were the effects of this battle on Hellas? With what feeling for the future does Xenophon close this narrative?

CHAPTER XXIV

RISE OF MACEDON

I. PHILIP THREATENS GREECE

The Greeks
are respon-
sible for
Philip's suc-
cess.

THAT Philip from a mean and humble origin has grown mighty, that the Greeks are jealous and quarrelling among themselves, that it was far more wonderful for him to rise from that insignificance than it would be now, after so many acquisitions, to conquer what is left; these and similar matters, which I might dwell upon, I pass over.

Demosthenes,
*Third Phil-
ippic.*

*Greece, 297 ff.;
Ancient
World, 271 f.*

But I observe that all people, beginning with you, have conceded to him a right, which in former times has been the subject of contest in every Grecian war. And what is this? The right of doing as he pleases, openly fleecing and pillaging the Greeks, one after another, attacking and enslaving their cities. You were at the head of the Greeks for seventy-three years, the Lacedæmonians for twenty-nine; and the Thebans had some power in these latter times after the battle of Leuctra. Yet neither you, my countrymen, nor Thebans nor Lacedæmonians, were ever licensed by the Greeks to act as you pleased; far otherwise. When you or rather the Athenians of that time appeared to be dealing harshly with certain people, all the rest even such as had no complaint against Athens, thought proper to side with the injured parties in a war against her. So, when the Lacedæmonians became masters and succeeded to your empire, on their attempting to encroach and make oppressive innovations, a general war

was declared against them, even by such as had no cause of complaint. . . .

Yet all the faults committed by the Spartans in those thirty years, and by our ancestors in the seventy, are less, men of Athens, than the wrongs, which in the thirteen incomplete years that Philip has been uppermost, he has inflicted on the Greeks; nay they are scarcely a fraction of these, as may easily be shown in a few words. Olynthus and Methone and Apollonia, and thirty-two cities on the borders of Thrace, I pass over; all which he has so cruelly destroyed, that a visitor could hardly tell if they were ever inhabited; and of the Phocians, so considerable a people exterminated, I say nothing. But what is the condition of Thessaly? Has he not taken away her constitutions, and her cities, and established tetrarchies, to parcel her out, not only by cities, but also by provinces, for subjection? Are not the Eubœan states governed now by despots, and that, too, in an island near to Thebes and Athens? Does he not expressly write in his epistles, "I am at peace with those who are willing to obey me"? Nor does he write so and not act accordingly. He has gone to the Hellespont; he marched formerly against Ambracia; Elis, such an important city in Peloponnesus, he possesses; he plotted lately to get Megara; neither Hellenic nor Barbaric land contains the man's ambition.

And we the Greek community, seeing and hearing this, instead of sending embassies to one another about it and expressing indignation, are in such a miserable state, so intrenched in our separate towns, that to this day we can attempt nothing that interest or necessity requires; we cannot combine, or form any association for succor and alliance; we look unconcernedly on the man's growing power, each resolving, methinks, to enjoy the interval that

Philip has wronged Greece more than have all her other leaders and rulers together.

The Greeks ought to combine against him.

another is destroyed in, not caring or striving for the salvation of Greece; for none can be ignorant that Philip, like some course or attack of fever or other disease, is coming even on those that yet seem very far removed. And you must be sensible, that whatever wrongs the Greeks sustained from Lacedæmonians or from us, were at least inflicted by genuine people of Greece; and it might be felt in the same manner as if a lawful son, born to a large fortune, committed some fault or error in the management of it; on that ground one would consider him open to censure and reproach, yet it could not be said that he was an alien, and not heir to the property which he so dealt with. But if a slave or spurious child wasted and spoiled what he had no interest in—Heavens! how much more heinous and hateful would all have pronounced it! And yet in regard to Philip and his conduct they feel not this, although he is not only no Greek and noway akin to Greeks, but not even a barbarian of a place honorable to mention; in fact a vile fellow of Macedon, from which a respectable slave could not formerly be purchased. . . .

The heritage
of Athens is
to lead in
freedom's
cause.

First let us prepare for our own defence; provide ourselves, I mean, with ships, money, and troops—for surely, though all other people consented to be slaves, we at least ought to struggle for freedom. When we have completed our own preparations and made them apparent to the Greeks, then let us invite the rest, and send our ambassadors everywhere with the intelligence, to Peloponnesus, to Rhodes, to Chios, to the king I say; for it concerns his interests, not to let Philip make universal conquest. Thus if you prevail, you will have partners of your dangers and expenses, in case of necessity, or at all events you will delay the operations. For since the war is against an individual, not against the collected power of a

state, even this may be useful; as were the embassies last year to Peloponnesus, and the remonstrances with which I and Polyeuctus, that excellent man, and Hegesippus and Clitomachus and Lycurgus and the other envoys went around, and arrested Philip's progress; so that he neither attacked Ambracia nor started for Peloponnesus. I say not however that you should invite the rest without adopting measures to protect yourselves; it would be folly, while you sacrifice your own interest, to profess a regard for that of strangers, or to alarm others about the future, whilst for the present you are unconcerned. I advise not this: I bid you send supplies to the troops in Chersonesus, and do what else they require; prepare yourselves and make every effort first, then summon, gather, instruct the rest of the Greeks.

That is the duty of a state possessing a dignity such as yours. If you imagine that Chalcidians or Megarians will save Greece, while you run away from the contest, you imagine wrong. Well for any of those people, if they are safe themselves. This work belongs to you: this privilege your ancestors bequeathed to you, the prize of many perilous exertions. But if every one will sit seeking his pleasure, and studying to be idle himself, never will he find others to do his work, and more than this, I fear we shall be under the necessity of doing at one time all that we like not. Were proxies to be had, our inactivity would have found them long ago; but they are not.

Such are the measures which I advise, which I propose: adopt them, and even yet, I believe, our prosperity may be reëstablished. If any man has better advice to offer, let him communicate it openly. Whatever you determine, I pray to all the gods for a happy result.

No other state will stir a finger unless you take the lead.

There is still hope of success.

II. HE GAINS CONTROL OF GREECE

Hellenic
league
formed
against
Philip.

Justin ix. 3.

*Ancient
World, 274.*

Battle of
Chæronea,
338 B.C.

But as soon as he recovered from his wound, he made war upon the Athenians, of which he had long dissembled his intention. The Thebans espoused their cause, fearing that if the Athenians were conquered, the war, like a fire in the neighborhood, would spread to them. An alliance being made accordingly between the two cities, which were just before at violent enmity with each other, they wearied Greece with embassies, stating that they thought the common enemy ought to be repelled by their common strength, for Philip would not rest, if his first attempts succeeded, until he had subjugated all Greece. Some of the cities were moved by these arguments, and joined themselves to the Athenians; but the dread of a war induced some to go over to Philip. A battle being brought on, though the Athenians were far superior in number of soldiers, they were conquered by the valor of the Macedonians, which was invigorated by constant service in the field. In defeat, however, they were not unmindful of their ancient valor; for falling with wounds in front, they all with their dead bodies covered the places which they had been charged by their leaders to defend. This day put an end to the glorious sovereignty and ancient liberty of all Greece.

III. ORGANIZATION OF HIS SUPREMACY

Moderate
use of the
victory.

Justin ix. 4.

Philip's joy for this victory was artfully concealed. He abstained from offering the usual sacrifices on that day; he did not smile at table, or mingle any diversions with the entertainment; he had no chaplets or perfumes; and as far as was in his power, he so managed his conquest that none might think of him as a conqueror. He desired that he

should not be called king, but general of Greece; and conducted himself with such prudence between his own secret joy on the one hand and the grief of the enemy on the other, that he neither appeared to his own subjects to rejoice, nor to the vanquished to insult them. To the Athenians, whom he had found to be his bitterest enemies, he sent back their prisoners without ransom, and gave up the bodies of the slain for burial, bidding them convey the relics of their dead to the sepulchres of their ancestors. He also sent Alexander, his son, with his friend Antipater to Athens, to establish peace and friendship with them.

The Thebans, however, he compelled to purchase their prisoners as well as the liberty of burying their dead. Some of the chief men of the city, too, he put to death; others he banished, seizing upon the property of them all. Afterward he reinstated in their country those that had been unjustly banished, of whom he made three hundred judges and governors of the city, before whom when the most eminent citizens were arraigned on this very charge, that of having banished them unjustly, they had such spirit that they all acknowledged their participation in the fact, and proved that it was better with the state when they were condemned than when they were restored. A wonderful instance of courage! They passed sentence, as far as they could, on those who had the disposal of them for life or death, and set at naught the pardon which their enemies could give them; and as they could not avenge themselves by deeds, they manifested their boldness by spirit of words.

War being at an end in Greece, Philip directed deputies from all the states to be summoned to Corinth, to settle the condition of affairs. Here he fixed terms of peace for the whole of Greece, according to the merits of each city;

Harsh treatment of the Thebans.

The council at Corinth.

Justin ix. 5.

*Ancient
World, 275 f.*

and chose from them all a council, to form a senate as it were for the country. But the Lacedæmonians, standing alone, showed contempt alike for the terms and the king. They regarded the state of things, which had not been agreed upon by the cities themselves, but had been forced upon them by a conqueror, as a state, not of peace, but of slavery. The number of troops to be furnished by each city was then determined, whether the king in case of being attacked was to be supported by their united force, or whether war was to be made on any other power under him as their general. In all these preparations for war it was not to be doubted that the kingdom of Persia was the object in view. The sum of the force was two hundred thousand infantry and fifteen thousand cavalry. Exclusive of this number there were also the army of Macedonia and the barbarians of the adjacent conquered nations. . . .

**Philip's
character.**

Justin ix. 8.

As a king he was more inclined to display in war than in entertainments; and his greatest riches were means for military operations. He was better at getting wealth than keeping it, and in consequence was always poor amidst his daily spoliations. Clemency and perfidy were equally valued by him; and no road to victory was, in his opinion, dishonorable. He was equally pleasing and treacherous in his address, promising more than he could perform. He was well qualified either for serious conversation or for jesting. He maintained friendship more with a view to interest than good faith. It was a common practice with him to pretend kindness where he hated, and to counterfeit dislike where he loved; to sow dissensions among friends, and try to gain favor from both sides. With such a disposition, his eloquence was very great, his language full of point and studied effect; so that neither did his facility

fall short of his art, nor his invention of his facility, nor his art of his invention.

To Philip succeeded his son Alexander, a prince greater than his father in both his virtues and his vices. Each of the two had a different mode of conquering; the one prosecuted his wars with open force, the other with subtlety; the one delighted in deceiving his enemies, the other in boldly repulsing them. The one was more prudent in council, the other more noble in feeling. The father would dissemble his resentment, and often subdue it; when the son was provoked, there was neither delay nor bounds to his vengeance. They were both too fond of wine, but the ill effects of their intoxication were totally different; the father would rush from a banquet to face the enemy, cope with him, and rashly expose himself to dangers; the son vented his rage not upon his enemies but on his friends. A battle often sent Philip away wounded; Alexander often left a banquet stained with the blood of his companions. The one wished to reign with his friends, the other to reign over them. The one preferred to be loved, the other to be feared. To literature both gave equal attention. The father had more cunning, the son more honor. Philip was more staid in his words, Alexander in his actions. The son felt readier and nobler impulses to spare the conquered; the father showed no mercy even to his allies. The father was more inclined to frugality, the son to luxury. By the same course by which the father laid the foundations of the empire of the world, the son consummated the glory of conquering the whole world.

Contrasted
with Alex-
ander.

Justin, l. c.

IV. SUMMARY OF HIS ACHIEVEMENTS

He (Philip) found you (the Macedonians) vagabonds and destitute of means, most of you clad in skins, feeding a

Philip's
benefits to
Macedon.

Alleged
speech of
Alexander to
his discontented Macedonian soldiers, in
Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander* vii. 9.

few sheep up the mountain sides, for the protection of which you had to fight with small success against the Illyrians, Triballians, and the border Thracians. Instead of skins he gave you cloaks to wear, and from the mountains he led you down into the plains, and made you capable of fighting the neighboring barbarians, so that you were no longer compelled to preserve yourselves by trusting rather to the inaccessible strongholds than to your own valor. He made you colonists of cities, which he provided with useful laws and customs; and from being slaves and subjects, he made you rulers over those very barbarians by whom you yourselves, as well as your property, were previously liable to be carried off or ravaged. He added, too, the greater part of Thrace to Macedon, and by seizing the most conveniently situated places on the sea-coast, he spread abundance over the land by commerce, and made the working of the mines a secure employment. He made you rulers over the Thessalians, of whom you had formerly been in mortal fear; and by humbling the nation of the Phocians he rendered the avenue into Greece broad and easy for you, instead of being narrow and difficult. The Athenians and Thebans, who were always lying in wait to attack the Macedonians, he humbled to such a degree, with my personal aid in the campaign, that instead of paying tribute to Athens and being in vassalage to Thebes, those states now obtain security for themselves by our assistance. He penetrated into Peloponnese; and after regulating its affairs, he was publicly declared commander in chief of all the rest of Greece in the expedition against the Persians, adding this glory not more to himself than to the commonwealth of the Macedonians.

STUDIES

1. How, according to Demosthenes, had Philip injured the Greeks? How had he grown great? What had the Greeks been doing meanwhile? Was Philip a Greek or a foreigner? What policy does the orator advise? Why does he think Athens should take the lead?

2. How did Philip finally gain control of Greece?

3. What use did he make of his victory? How did he treat the Athenians and the Thebans respectively? Why did he make this difference? Describe in detail his organization of Greece. What was the ultimate object? Describe Philip's character. What contrast is drawn between him and his son? Which seems the better? Who wrote this extract, from what sources did he probably draw, and what seems to be his reliability?

4. What was the condition of the Macedonians on the accession of Philip? What benefits, according to Alexander, did Philip confer on them?

CHAPTER XXV

ALEXANDER'S EMPIRE

I. THE BATTLE OF ISSUS

The reasons
for his suc-
cess.

Plutarch,
Alexander,
20 f.

*Ancient
World*, 280;
Greece, 312 f.

The spoil
and the
captives.

FORTUNE, no doubt, greatly favored Alexander, but yet he owed much of his success to his excellent generalship; for although enormously outnumbered by the enemy, he not only avoided being surrounded by them, but was able to outflank their left with his own right wing, and by this manœuvre completely defeated the Persians. He himself fought among the foremost, and according to Chares was wounded in the thigh by Darius himself. In the account of the battle which he despatched to Antipater, Alexander does not mention the name of the man who wounded him, but states that he received a stab in the thigh with a dagger, and that the wound was not dangerous.

He won a most decisive victory, and slew more than a hundred thousand of the enemy, but could not come up with Darius himself, as he gained a start of nearly a mile. He captured his chariot, however, and his bow and arrows, and on his return found the Macedonians revelling in the rich plunder which they had won, although the Persians had been in light marching order, and had left most of their heavy baggage at Damascus. The royal pavilion of Darius himself, full of beautiful slaves and rich furniture of every description, had been left un plundered, and was reserved for Alexander himself, who as soon as he had taken off his armor, proceeded to the bath, saying "Let me wash off the sweat of the battle in the bath of Darius."

"Nay," answered one of his companions, "in that of Alexander; for the goods of the vanquished become the property of the victor." When he entered the bath and saw that all the vessels for water, the bath itself, and the boxes of unguents were of pure gold, and smelt the delicious scent of the rich perfumes with which the whole pavilion was filled; and when he passed from the bath into a magnificent salon where a splendid banquet was prepared, he looked at his friends and said "This, then, it is to be a king indeed."

While he was dining it was told him that the mother and wife of Darius and his two daughters, who were among the captives, had seen the chariot and bow of Darius, and were mourning for him, imagining him to be dead. Alexander when he heard this, paused for a long time, being more affected by the grief of these ladies, than by the victory he had won. He sent Leonnatus to inform them, that they need never mourn for Darius nor fear Alexander; for he was fighting for the empire of Asia, not as a personal enemy of Darius, and would take care that they were treated with the same honor and respect as before. This generous message to the captive princesses was followed by acts of still greater kindness; for he permitted them to bury whomsoever of the slain persons they wished, and to use all their own apparel and furniture, which had been seized by the soldiers as plunder. He also allowed them to retain the regal title and state, and even increased their revenues.

The family
of Darius.

II. THE SACK OF PERSEPOLIS

The Macedonians therefore, forcing their way into the city, put all the men to the sword, and rifled and carried away every man's goods and estate, amongst which was

The spoil.

Diodorus
xvii. 70.

abundance of rich and costly furniture and ornaments of all sorts. In this place were looted here and there vast quantities of silver, and no less of gold, great numbers of rich garments, some of finest purple, others embroidered with gold, all which became the prizes of the victors: and thus the great seat-royal of the Persians, once famous all the world over, was now exposed to scorn and contempt, and rifled from top to bottom. For though the Macedonians spent days and days in the looting, yet their covetousness was insatiable, still thirsting after more. And they were so eager in plundering that they fought one with another with drawn swords, and many who were conceived to have got a greater share than the rest, were killed in the quarrel. Some things that were of extraordinary value they divided with their swords, and each took a share; others in rage cut off the hands of such as laid hold of a thing that was in dispute. . . . So that in proportion as Persepolis excelled all the other cities in glory and worldly felicity, such was the measure of her misery and calamity.

The
treasures.

Diod. xvii. 71.

Then Alexander seized upon all the treasures in the citadel, a vast quantity of gold and silver of the public revenues that had been there collected and laid up from the time of Cyrus, the first king of Persia, to that day. For there was found a hundred and twenty thousand talents, reckoning the gold after the rate of the silver.

Part of this treasure he took for the use of the war, and ordered another part of it to be treasured up at Susa. To this end he ordered that a multitude of mules both for draught and carriage, and three thousand camels with pack-saddles, should be brought out of Babylon, Mesopotamia, and Susa; and with these he conveyed all the treasure to the several places he had appointed. For because

he extremely hated the inhabitants, he was resolved not to trust them with any thing, but utterly to ruin and destroy Persepolis. As to the stately structure of the palace we conceive it will not be out of place if we say something. This grand fabric was surrounded with a treble wall; the first was sixteen cubits high, adorned with pinnacles. The second was like to the first, but as high again as the other. The third was drawn like a quadrant, sixty cubits high, all of hard stone and of a nature which warranted imperishable duration. On the four sides are brazen gates, near to which are gallowses of bronze twenty cubits high. These were raised to terrify the beholders, and the other for the better strengthening and fortifying of the place. On the east side of the citadel, about four hundred feet distant, stood a mount called the Royal mount, for here are all the sepulchres of the kings, many apartments and little cells cut into the midst of the rock; into these cells there is made no direct passage, but the coffins with the dead bodies are by instruments hoisted up, and so let down into these vaults. In this citadel were many stately lodgings, of excellent workmanship, both for the king and his commanders, and treasury chambers most commodiously contrived for the laying up of money.

The palace.

Here Alexander made a sumptuous feast for the entertainment of his friends in commemoration of his victory, and offered magnificent sacrifices to the gods. And indeed at one time when the "companions" of the king were feasting and carousing, madness seized upon the souls of the men flushed with wine. When also one of the women present—Thais of Athens—said, "Alexander will perform the most glorious act of his life, if while he is feasting with us he will burn the palace;" and so the glory and

Alexander's banquet.

Diod. xvii.
72.

The burning
of the palace.

renown of Persia might be said to have come to naught in a moment by the hands of women. This spread abroad, and came to the ears of the men who were young and made little use of reason when drink was in their heads. Presently one cries out, "Come on, bring us firebrands," and so incited the rest to fire the citadel, to revenge the impiety the Persians had committed in destroying the temples of the Grecians. Thereupon others with joy set up a shout, and said, "So brave an exploit belongs only to Alexander to perform!"

Stirred by these words, the king embraced the motion; whereupon as many as were present left their cups and leaped upon the table, and said, "We will now celebrate a victorious festival to Bacchus." Then multitudes of firebrands were presently got together, and all the women that played on musical instruments at the feast were called for, and then the king with songs, pipes and flutes bravely led the procession of revelry conducted by Thais, who next after the king threw the firebrand into the palace. This precedent was presently followed by the rest, so that in a very short time, the whole fabric, by the violence of the fire, was consumed to ashes.

III. CHARACTER OF ALEXANDER

His good
qualities.

Arrian, *An-
abasis of
Alexander*,
vii. 28.

Died 323
B.C.

Alexander died in the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad, in the archonship of Hegesias of Athens. According to the statement of Aristobulus he lived thirty-two years and had reached the eighth month of his thirty-third year. He had reigned twelve years and these eight months. He was very handsome in person, and unusually fond of exertion, very active in mind, heroic in courage, tenacious of honor, exceedingly fond of incurring danger, and strictly

observant of his duty to the deity. Over bodily pleasures he maintained perfect self-control; in mental pleasures he was insatiable in none but praise. He was exceedingly clever in discovering what was to be done, while others were still uncertain. From the observation of facts he could with rare success conjecture what was likely to happen. His fame was enhanced by his ability to rouse courage in his soldiers, to fill them with hopes of success, and to dispel their fear in the midst of danger by his own freedom from alarm. Therefore what he had to do while still uncertain of the result he performed with the utmost boldness. He was clever, too, in getting the start of his enemies, and in snatching from them their advantage by secretly forestalling them, before anyone even feared for the result. Remarkably steadfast in keeping the agreements and settlements he had made, he was equally secure from being entrapped by deceivers. Lastly he spent little on his own pleasures but was very bountiful in expense for the benefit of others.

Eratosthenes blames the system of those who would divide all mankind into Greeks and Barbarians, and likewise those who recommended Alexander to treat the Greeks as friends, but the Barbarians as enemies. He suggests, as a better course, to distinguish them according to their virtues and their vices, "since amongst the Greeks there are many worthless characters, and many highly civilized are to be found amongst the Barbarians; witness the Indians and Ariani, or still better the Romans and Carthaginians, whose political system is so beautifully perfect. Alexander, considering this, disregarded the advice which had been offered him, and patronized without distinction any man he considered to be deserving.

Breadth of sympathy.

Strabo i. 4. 9.

STUDIES

1. What contributed to Alexander's victory at Issus? What spoil came to the victors? How did Alexander treat the family of Darius?
2. Describe the looting of Persepolis. What treasures did Alexander find there? What uses did he make of them? Describe the palace. What led to its destruction?
3. Summarize the character of Alexander. What were his strong and what his weak points? Did he injure as well as benefit the countries he conquered?

CHAPTER XXVI

GREEK LIFE AND THOUGHT

I. TRAINING THE WIFE

DID you yourself educate your wife to be all that a wife should be, or when you received her from her father and mother was she already proficient, well skilled to discharge the duties appropriate to a wife?

Socrates asks this question of Ischomachus.

Xenophon, *Economist*, 7.

The wife's training before marriage.

Well skilled! (he replied). What proficiency was she likely to bring with her, when she was not quite fifteen at the time she wedded me, and during the whole period of her life had been most carefully brought up to see and hear as little as possible, and to ask the fewest questions? or do you not think one should be satisfied, if at marriage her whole experience consisted in knowing how to take the wool and make a dress, and seeing how her mother's hand-maidens had their daily spinning-tasks assigned them? For (he added), as regards control of appetite and self-indulgence, she had received the soundest education, and that I take to be the most important matter in the bringing up of man or woman.

Then all else (said I) you taught your wife yourself, Ischomachus, until you had made her capable of attending carefully to her appointed duties?

Ischomachus resolves to teach his wife.

That did I not (replied he) until I had offered sacrifice, and prayed that I might teach and she might learn all that could conduce to the happiness of us twain.

Soc. And did your wife join in sacrifice and prayer to that effect?

She is ready
to learn.

Isch. Most certainly, with many a vow registered to heaven to become all she ought to be; and her whole manner showed that she would not be neglectful of what was taught her.

Soc. Pray narrate to me, Ischomachus, I beg you, what you first essayed to teach her. To hear that story would please me more than any description of the most splendid gymnastic contest or horse-race you could give me. . . .

(In instructing his wife Ischomachus explains:)

Woman's
nature dif-
ferent from
man's.

"But whereas both of these, the indoor and the outdoor occupations alike, demand new toil and new attention, to meet the case," I added, "God made provision from the first by shaping as it seems to me, the woman's nature for indoor and the man's for outdoor occupations. Man's body and soul He furnished with a greater capacity for enduring heat and cold, wayfaring and military marches, or to repeat, He laid upon his shoulders the outdoor works.

Woman cre-
ated for in-
door work.

"While in creating the body of woman with less capacity for these things," I continued, "God would seem to have imposed upon her the indoor works; and knowing that He had implanted in the woman and imposed upon her the nurture of new-born babes, He endowed her with a larger share of affections for the new-born child than He bestowed upon man. And since He had imposed upon woman the guardianship of the things imported from without, God, in His wisdom, perceiving that a fearful spirit was no detriment to guardianship, endowed the woman with a larger measure of timidity than He bestowed upon man. Knowing further that he to whom the outdoor works belonged would need to defend them against malign attack, He endowed the man in turn with a larger share of courage.

"And seeing that both alike feel the need of giving and

receiving, He set down memory and carefulness between them for their common use, so that you would find it hard to determine which of the two, the male or the female, has the larger share of these. So, too, God set down between them for their common use the gift of self-control, where needed, adding only to that one of the twain, whether man or woman, which should prove the better, the power to be rewarded with a larger share of this perfection. And for the very reason that their natures are not alike adapted to like ends, they stand in greater need of one another; and the married couple is made more useful to itself, the one fulfilling what the other lacks.

"Now, being well aware of this, my wife," I added, "and knowing well what things are laid upon us twain by God Himself, must we not strive to perform, each in the best way possible, our respective duties? Law, too, gives her consent—law and the usage of mankind, by sanctioning the wedlock of man and wife; and just as God ordained them to be partners in their children, so the law establishes their common ownership of house and estate. Custom, moreover, proclaims as beautiful those excellencies of man and woman with which God gifted them at birth. Thus for a woman to bide tranquilly at home rather than roam abroad is no dishonor; but for a man to remain indoors, instead of devoting himself to outdoor pursuits, is a thing discreditable. But if a man does things contrary to the nature given him by God, the chances are, such insubordination escapes not the eye of Heaven; he pays the penalty, whether of neglecting his own works, or of performing those appropriate to woman."

I added: "Just such works, if I mistake not, that same queen-bee we spoke of labors hard to perform, like yours, my wife, enjoined upon her by God Himself."

Woman endowed with memory and carefulness.

Husband and wife are partners and joint owners of the estate.

The wife is like a queen-bee.

"And what sort of works are these?" she asked; "what has the queen-bee to do that she seems so like myself, or I like her in what I have to do?"

"Why," I answered, "she too stays in the hive and suffers not the other bees to idle. Those whose duty it is to work outside she sends forth to their labors; and all that each of them brings in, she notes and receives and stores against the day of need; but when the season for use has come, she distributes a just share to each. Again, it is she who presides over the fabric of choicely-woven cells within. She looks to it that warp and woof are wrought with speed and beauty. Under her guardian eye the brood of young is nursed and reared; but when the days of rearing are past and the young bees are ripe for work, she sends them out as colonists with one of the seed royal to be their leader."

"Shall I then have to do these things?" asked my wife.

The wife's
management
of the house.

"Yes," I answered, "you will need in the same way to stay indoors, despatching to their toils without those of your domestics whose work lies there. Over those whose appointed tasks are wrought indoors, it will be your duty to preside; yours to receive the stuffs brought in; yours to apportion part for daily use, and yours to make provision for the rest, to guard and garner it so that the outgoings destined for a year may not be expended in a month. It will be your duty, when the wools are introduced, to see that clothing is made for those who need; your duty also to see that the dried corn is rendered fit and serviceable for food.

The care of
the sick.

"There is just one of all these occupations which devolve upon you," I added, "that you may not find so altogether pleasing. Should any of our household fall sick, it

will be your care to see and tend them to the recovery of their health."

"Nay," she answered, "that will be my pleasantest of tasks, if careful nursing may touch the springs of gratitude and leave them friendlier than heretofore."

And I (continued Ischomachus) was struck with admiration at her answer, and replied: "Thank you, my wife, it is through some such traits of forethought seen in their mistress-leader that the hearts of bees are won, and they are so loyally affectioned toward her that, if ever she abandon her hive, not one of them will dream of being left behind; but one and all must follow her."

And my wife made answer to me: "It would much astonish me (said she) did not these leader's works, you speak of, point to you rather than to myself. Methinks mine would be a pretty guardianship and distribution of things indoors without your provident care to see that the importations from without were duly made."

"Just so," I answered, "and mine would be a pretty importation if there were none to guard what I imported. Do you not see," I added, "how pitiful is the case of those unfortunates who pour water into their sieves forever, as the story goes, and labor but in vain?"

"Pitiful enough, poor souls," she answered, "if that is what they do."

"But there are other cares, you know, and occupations," I answered, "which are yours by right, and these you will find agreeable. This, for instance: to take some maiden who knows naught of carding wool and to make her proficient in the art, doubling her usefulness; or to receive another quite ignorant of housekeeping or of service, and to render her skilful, loyal, serviceable, till she is worth her weight in gold; or again, when occasion serves, you

Training her
servants.

The reward.

have it in your power to requite by kindness the well-behaved whose presence is a blessing to your house; or maybe to chasten the bad character, should such an one appear. But the greatest joy of all will be to prove yourself my better; to make me your faithful follower; knowing no dread lest as the years advance you should decline in honor in your household, but rather trusting that, though your hair turn gray, yet in proportion as you come to be a better helpmate to myself and to the children, a better guardian of our home, so will your honor increase throughout the household as mistress, wife, and mother, daily more dearly prized. Since," I added, "it is not through excellence of outward form, but by reason of the lustre of virtues shed forth upon the life of man, that increase is given to things beautiful and good."

II. THE DECLINE IN MUSIC AND ITS DEMORALIZING EFFECTS

Formerly law was master.

Plato, *Laws*,
iii. 700.

Athenian. Under the ancient laws, my friends, the people was not as now the master, but rather the willing servant of the laws.

Megillus. What laws do you mean?

Ath. In the first place let us speak of the laws about music,—that is to say, such music as then existed,—in order that we may trace the growth of the excess of freedom from the beginning. Now music was early divided among us into certain kinds and manners. One sort consisted of prayers to the Gods, which were called hymns; and there was another and opposite sort called lamentations, and another termed pæans, and another celebrating the birth of Dionysus, called, I believe, "dithyrambs." And they used the actual word "laws" (*νόμοι*) for another kind of song; and to this they added the term

"citharœdic." All these and others were duly distinguished, nor were the performers allowed to confuse one style of music with another. And the authority which determined and gave judgment, and punished the disobedient, was not expressed in a hiss, nor in the most unmusical shouts of the multitude, as in our days, nor in applause and clapping of hands. But the directors of public instruction insisted that the spectators should listen in silence to the end; and boys and their tutors, and the multitude in general, were kept quiet by a hint from a stick. Such was the good order which the multitude were willing to observe; they would never have dared to give judgment by noisy cries.

The audience at a musical performance had to remain quiet.

And then, as time went on, the poets themselves introduced the reign of vulgar and lawless innovation. They were men of genius, but they had no perception of what is just and lawful in music; raging like Bacchanals and possessed with inordinate delights—mingling lamentations with hymns, and pœans with dithyrambs; imitating the sounds of the flute on the lyre, and making one general confusion; ignorantly affirming that music has no truth, and whether good or bad, can only be judged of rightly by the pleasure of the hearer.

The decline.

Change from classical music to "rag-time."

And by composing such licentious works, and adding to them words as licentious, they have inspired the multitude with lawlessness and boldness, and made them fancy that they can judge for themselves about melody and song. And in this way the theatres from being mute have become vocal, as though they had understanding of good and bad in music and poetry; and instead of an aristocracy, an evil sort of theatocracy has grown up. For if the democracy which judged had only consisted of educated persons, no fatal harm would have been done; but in music there

The spirit of lawlessness begins in the theatre.

first arose the universal conceit of omniscience and general lawlessness;—freedom came following afterward, and men, fancying that they knew what they did not know, had no longer any fear, and the absence of fear begets shamelessness. For what is this shamelessness, which is so evil a thing, but the insolent refusal to regard the opinion of the better by reason of an over-daring sort of liberty?

Meg. Very true.

Ath. Consequent upon this freedom comes the other freedom, of disobedience to rulers; and then the attempt to escape the control and exhortation of father, mother, elders, and when near the end, the control of the laws also; and at the very end there is the contempt of oaths and pledges, and no regard at all for the Gods,—herein they exhibit and imitate the old so-called Titanic nature, and come to the same point as the Titans when they rebelled against God, leading a life of endless evils.

III. SOCRATES VISITS CEPHALUS

Socrates goes to Peiræus.

Plato, *Republic* (opening).

Cephalus is father of Lysias the orator; *Ancient World*, 287. They were a family of resident aliens (metics).

I went down yesterday to the Peiræus with Glaucon the son of Ariston, that I might offer up my prayers to the goddess; and also because I wanted to see in what manner they would celebrate the festival, which was a new thing. I was delighted with the procession of the inhabitants; but that of the Thracians was equally, if not more, beautiful. When we had finished our prayers and viewed the spectacle, we turned in the direction of the city; and at that instant Polemarchus the son of Cephalus chanced to catch sight of us from a distance as we were starting on our way home, and told his servant to run and bid us wait for him. The servant took hold of me by the cloak behind, and said: Polemarchus desires you to wait.

I turned round, and asked him where his master was.

There he is, saith the youth, coming after you, if you will only wait.

Certainly we will, said Glaucon; and in a few minutes Polemarchus appeared, and with him Adeimantus, Glaucon's brother, Niceratus, the son of Nicias, and several others who had been at the procession.

Nicias is the well-known general; *Ancient World*, 223 f., 227-232.

Polemarchus said to me: I perceive, Socrates, that you and your companion are already on your way to the city.

You are not far wrong, I said.

But do you see, he rejoined, how many we are?

Of course.

And are you stronger than all these? for if not, you will have to remain where you are.

May there not be the alternative, I said, that we may persuade you to let us go?

But can you persuade us, if we refuse to listen to you? he said.

Certainly not, replied Glaucon.

Then we are not going to listen; of that you may be assured.

Adeimantus added: Has no one told you of the torch race on horseback in honor of the goddess which will take place in the evening? **A torch race.**

With horses! I replied: That is a novelty. Will horsemen carry torches and pass them to one another during the races?

Yes, said Polemarchus, and not only so, but a festival will be celebrated at night, which you certainly ought to see. Let us rise soon after supper and see this festival; there will be a gathering of young men, and we will have a good talk. Stay then, and do not be perverse.

Glaucon said: I suppose since you insist, that we must.

Very good, I replied.

Accordingly we went with Polemarchus to his house; and there we found his brothers Lysias and Euthydemus, and with them Thrasymachus the Chalcedonian, Charmantides the Pæanian, and Cleitophon the son of Aristonymus. There too was Cephalus the father of Polemarchus, whom I had not seen for a long time, and I thought him very much aged. He was seated on a cushioned chair, and had a garland on his head, for he had been sacrificing in the court; and there were some other chairs in the room arranged in a semicircle, upon which we sat down by him. He saluted me eagerly, and then he said:

Old age
takes in-
creased
pleasure in
conversa-
tion.

You don't come to see me, Socrates, as often as you ought: if I were still able to go and see you I would not ask you to come to me. But at my age I can hardly get to the city, and therefore you should come oftener to the Peiræus. For let me tell you, that the more the pleasures of the body fade away, the greater to me is the pleasure and charm of conversation. Do not then deny my request, but make our house your resort and keep company with these young men; we are old friends, and you will be quite at home with us.

I replied: There is nothing which for my part I like better, Cephalus, than conversing with aged men; for I regard them as travellers who have gone a journey which I too may have to go, and of whom I ought to enquire, whether the way is smooth and easy, or rugged and difficult. And this is a question which I should like to ask of you who have arrived at that time which the poets call the "threshold of old age."—Is life harder towards the end, or what report do you give of it?

The com-
plaints of
the old.

I will tell you, Socrates, he said, what my own feeling is. Men of my age flock together; we are birds of a feather, as the old proverb says; and at our meetings the tale of

my acquaintance commonly is—I cannot eat, I cannot drink; the pleasures of youth and love are fled away; there was a good time once, but now that is gone, and life is no longer life. Some complain of the slights which are put upon them by relations, and they will tell you sadly of how many evils their old age is the cause. But to me, Socrates, these complainers seem to blame that which is not really in fault. . . . Certainly old age has a great sense of calm and freedom, when the passions relax their hold, then, as Sophocles says, we are freed from the grasp not of one mad master only, but of many. The truth is, Socrates, that these regrets, and also the complaints about relations, are to be attributed to the same cause, which is not old age, but men's characters and tempers; for he who is of a calm and happy nature will hardly feel the pressure of age, but to him who is of an opposite disposition youth and age are equally a burden.

The advantages of old age.

I listened in admiration, and wanting to draw him out, that he might go on—Yes, Cephalus, I said; but I rather suspect that people in general are not convinced by you when you speak thus; they think that old age sits lightly upon you, not because of your happy disposition, but because you are rich, and wealth is well known to be a great comforter.

Do none but the rich find enjoyment when old?

You are right, he replied, they are not convinced; and there is something in what they say; not however, so much as they imagine. I might answer them as Themistocles answered the Seriphian who was abusing him and saying that he was famous not for his own merits but because he was an Athenian: "If you had been a native of my country or I of yours, neither of us would have been famous." And to those who are not rich and are impatient of old age, the same reply may be made; for to the

good poor man old age cannot be a light burden nor can a bad rich man ever have peace with himself.

The Greek attitude toward money-making.

May I ask, Cephalus, whether your fortune was for the most part inherited or acquired by you?

Acquired! Socrates, do you want to know how much I acquired? In the art of making money I have been midway between my father and grandfather; for my grandfather, whose name I bear, doubled and trebled the value of his patrimony, that which he inherited being much what I possess now; but my father Lysanias reduced the property below what it is at present; and I shall be satisfied if I leave to these my sons not less but a little more than I received.

Cephalus belonged to the industrial class, and yet the chief object of his life was not money-making: We do not know any single Greek whose sole aim was acquisition.

That was why I asked you the question, I replied, because I see that you are indifferent about money, which is a characteristic rather of those who have inherited their fortunes than of those who have acquired them; the makers of fortunes have a second love of money as a creation of their own, resembling the affection of authors for their own poems, or of parents for their children, besides that natural love of it for the sake of use and profit which is common to them and all men. And hence they are very bad company, for they can talk about nothing but the praises of wealth.

IV. EDUCATION

Education should be public, and the same for all.

Aristotle, *Politics*, viii. 1.

Since the whole city has one end, it is manifest that education should be one and the same for all, and that it should be public, and not private,—not as at present when every one looks after his own children separately and gives them separate instruction of the sort which he thinks best; the training in things which are of common interest should be the same for all. Neither must we

suppose that any one of the citizens belongs to himself, for they all belong to the state, and are each of them a part of the state, and the care of each part is inseparable from the care of the whole. In this particular the Lacedæmonians are to be praised, for they take the greatest pains about their children, and make education the business of the state. . . .

Ancient World, 202-4.

There can be no doubt that children should be taught those useful things which are really necessary, but not all things; for occupations are divided into liberal and il-liberal; and to young children should be imparted only such kinds of knowledge as will be useful to them without vulgarizing them. And any occupation, art, or science, which makes the body or soul or mind of the freeman less fit for the practice or exercise of virtue, is vulgar; wherefore we call those arts vulgar which tend to deform the body, and likewise all paid employments, for they absorb and degrade the mind. There are also some liberal arts quite proper for a freeman to acquire, but only in a certain degree, and if he attend to them too closely, in order to attain perfection in them, the same evil effects will follow. . . .

What kind of knowledge is useful.

Aristotle, Politics, viii. 2.

The customary branches of education are in number four: they are—(1) reading and writing, (2) gymnastic exercises, (3) music, to which is sometimes added (4) drawing. Of these, reading and writing and drawing are regarded as useful for the purposes of life in a variety of ways, and gymnastic exercises are thought to infuse courage. Concerning music a doubt may be raised—in our own day most men cultivate it for the sake of pleasure, but originally it was included in education, because nature herself, as has been often said, requires that we should be able, not only to work well, but to use leisure well.

Branches of education.

Ib. 3.

STUDIES

1. What does Ischomachus consider the chief thing in education? What training had his wife prior to marriage? What did he aim to teach her? What in detail was the wife's work? What was to be her reward?

2. What was the importance of music in Greece? Under what discipline was the theatre kept? What change of music took place and with what effect on character?

3. From this passage what may we learn of home life and social life? What did Cephalus think of old age? How did this manufacturer regard money-making? What was the social standing of this family of resident aliens?

4. What does Aristotle say was the actual education of the time, and what improvement does he suggest? What in his opinion should children be taught? What were the customary branches? What was his idea of a liberal education? Why should we attach any importance to his opinion?

CHAPTER XXVII

THE HELLENISTIC AGE

I. THE ACHÆAN LEAGUE

THE Achæans, as I have stated before, have in our time made extraordinary progress in material prosperity and internal unity. For though many statesmen had tried in past times to induce the Peloponnesians to join in a league for the common interests of all, and had always failed, because every one was working to secure his own power rather than the freedom of the whole; yet in our day this policy has made such progress, and been carried out with such completeness, that not only is there in the Peloponnese a community of interests such as exists between allies or friends, but an absolute identity of laws, weights, measures, and currency. All the states have the same magistrates, senate, and judges. Nor is there any difference between the entire Peloponnese and a single city, except in the fact that its inhabitants are not included within the same wall; in other respects, both as a whole and in their individual cities, there is a nearly absolute assimilation of institutions.

It will be useful to ascertain, to begin with, how it came to pass that the name of the Achæans became the universal one for all the inhabitants of the Peloponnese. For the original bearers of this ancestral name have no superiority over others, either in the size of their territory and cities, or in wealth, or in the prowess of their men. For they are a long way from being superior to the Arca-

The league unites Peloponnesus.

Polybius ii. 37.

Ancient World, 300-3.

Rise of the league.

Polyb. ii. 38.

dians and Lacedæmonians in number of inhabitants and extent of territory; nor can these latter nations be said to yield the first place in warlike courage to any Greek people whatever. Whence then comes it that these nations, with the rest of the inhabitants of the Peloponnese, have been content to adopt the constitution and name of the Achæans? To speak of chance in such a matter would not be to offer any adequate solution of the question, and would be a mere idle evasion. A cause must be sought; for without a cause nothing, expected or unexpected, can be accomplished. The cause, then, in my opinion, was this. Nowhere could be found a more unalloyed and deliberately established system of equality and absolute freedom,—in a word, of democracy,—than among the Achæans. This constitution found many of the Peloponnesians ready enough to adopt it of their own accord: many were brought to share it by persuasion and argument: some though acting upon compulsion at first, were quickly brought to acquiesce in its benefits; for none of the original members had any special privilege reserved for them, but equal rights were given to all comers: the object aimed at was therefore quickly attained by the two most unfailing expedients of equality and fraternity. This then must be looked upon as the source and original cause of Peloponnesian unity and consequent prosperity.

Its officers.

Polyb. ii. 43.

For the first twenty-five years of the league between the cities I have mentioned, a secretary and two generals for the whole union were elected by each city in turn. But after this period they determined to appoint one general only, and put the entire management of the affairs of the union in his hands. The first to obtain this honor was Margus of Caryneia. In the fourth year after this man's

tenure of the office, Aratus of Sicyon caused his city to join the league, which, by his energy and courage, he had, when only twenty years of age, delivered from the yoke of its tyrant. In the eighth year again after this, Aratus, being elected general for the second time, laid a plot to seize the Acrocorinthus, then held by Antigonus; and by success freed the inhabitants of the Peloponnese from a source of serious alarm: and having thus liberated Corinth he caused it to join the league. In his same term of office he got Megara into his hands, and caused it to join also. These events occurred in the year before the decisive defeat of the Carthaginians, in consequence of which they evacuated Sicily and consented for the first time to pay tribute to Rome.

Having made this remarkable progress in his design in so short a time, Aratus continued thenceforth in the position of leader of the Achæan league, and in the consistent direction of his whole policy to one single end; which was to expel Macedonians from the Peloponnese, to depose the despots, and to establish in each state the common freedom which their ancestors had enjoyed before them.

Immediately after Phillopœmen had been succeeded by Aristæus as general, the ambassadors of king Ptolemy arrived, while the league meeting was assembled at Megalopolis. King Eumenes also had despatched an embassy offering to give the Achæans one hundred and twenty talents, on condition that it was invested and the interest used to pay the council of the league at the time of the federal assemblies. Ambassadors came also from king Seleucus, to renew his friendship with them and offering a present of a fleet of ten ships of war. . . .

Next came the ambassadors from Eumenes, who re-

Aratus.

Acrocorin-
thus was the
citadel of
Corinth;
Antigonus
was ruler of
Macedon.

242 B.C.

**A session of
the federal
assembly.**

Polybius
xxii. 10.

Offer of king
Eumenes of
Pergamum.

Various
kings seek
the friend-
ship of the
league.

newed the ancestral friendship of the king with the Achæans, and stated to the assembly the offer made by him. They spoke at great length on these subjects, and retired after setting forth the greatness of the king's kindness and affection to the nation.

The offer rejected.

Ib. 11.

The moral standard of the league was high.

After they had finished their speech, Apollonidas of Sicyon rose and said that, "As far as the amount of the money was concerned, it was a present worthy of the Achæans. But if they looked to the intention of the donor, or to the purpose to which the gift was to be applied, none could well be more insulting and more unconstitutional. The laws prohibited any one, whether a private individual or magistrate, from accepting presents from a king on any pretence whatever; but if they took this money they would every one of them be plainly accepting a present, which was at once the gravest possible breach of the law, and confessedly the deepest personal disgrace. For that the council should take a great wage from Eumenes, and meet to deliberate on the interests of the league after swallowing such a bait, was manifestly disgraceful and injurious. It was Eumenes that offered money now; presently it would be Prusias; and then Seleucus. But as the interests of democracies and of kings are quite opposite to each other, and as our most frequent and most important deliberations concern the points of controversy arising between us and the kings, one of two things must necessarily happen; either the interests of the king will have precedence over our own, or we must incur the reproach of ingratitude for opposing our paymasters." He therefore urged the Achæans not only to decline the offer, but to hold Eumenes in detestation for thinking of making it. . . .

After these speeches had been delivered, the people

showed such signs of enthusiastic approval that no one ventured to speak on the side of the king; but the whole assembly rejected the offer by acclamation, though its amount certainly made it exceedingly tempting.

The next subject introduced for debate was that of king Ptolemy. The ambassadors who had been on the mission to Ptolemy were called forward, and Lycortas, acting as spokesman, began by stating how they had interchanged oaths of alliance with the king; and next announced that they brought a present from the king to the Achæan league of six thousand stands of arms for peltasts, and two thousand talents in bronze coinage. He added a panegyric on the king, and finished his speech by a brief reference to the goodwill and active benevolence of the king towards the Achæans. Upon this the general of the Achæans, Aristænus, stood up and asked Lycortas and his colleagues in the embassy to Ptolemy "which alliance it was that he had thus renewed?"

And when no one was able to explain, not even Philip-cæmen himself, who had been in office when the renewal was made, nor Lycortas and his colleagues who had been on the mission to Alexandria, these men all began to be regarded as careless in conducting the business of the league; while Aristænus acquired great reputation as being the only man who knew what he was talking about; and finally, the assembly refused to allow the ratification, voting on account of this blunder that the business should be postponed.

Then the ambassadors from Seleucus entered with their proposal. The Achæans, however, voted to renew the friendship with Seleucus, but to decline for the present the gift of the ships.

King
Ptolemy of
Egypt seeks
a renewal of
a treaty.

Ib. 12.

There were
several trea-
ties between
the states.

II. HIGH SENSE OF HONOR OF THE GREEK STATES

A slight
lapse of the
Rhodians.

Polybius
xxxi. 25.

These words
are a high
compliment
to the Greek
state in gen-
eral, and
particularly
to Rhodes.

Eumenes was
king of Per-
gamum. The
gift was made
162 B.C.

Though in other respects maintaining the dignity of their states, the Rhodians made, in my opinion, a slight lapse in this period. They had received 280,000 medimni of grain from Eumenes, that its value might be invested and the interest devoted to pay the fees of the tutors and schoolmasters of their sons. One might accept this from friends in a case of financial embarrassment, as one might in private life, rather than allow children to remain uneducated for want of means. But where means are abundant, a man would rather do anything than allow the schoolmaster's fee to be supplied by a joint contribution from his friends. And in proportion as a state should hold higher notions than an individual, so ought governments to be more jealous of their dignity than private men, and above all a Rhodian government, considering the wealth of the country and its high pretensions.

Priene suf-
fers rather
than betray
a trust.

Polybius
xxxiii. 6.

Orophernes
had become
king of Cap-
padocia in
place of
Ariarathes;
but the lat-
ter eventually
recovered
his kingdom.

About this time an unexpected misfortune befell the people of Priene. They had received a deposit of four hundred talents from Orophernes when he got possession of the kingdom; and subsequently when Ariarathes recovered his dominion he demanded the money of them. But they acted like honest men, in my opinion, in declaring that they would deliver it to no one as long as Orophernes was alive, except to the person who deposited it with them; while Ariarathes was thought by many to be committing a breach of equity in demanding a deposit made by another. Up to this point, however, one might perhaps pardon his making the attempt, because he looked upon the money as belonging to his own kingdom; but to push his anger and imperious determination as much

farther as he did seems utterly unjustifiable. At the period I refer to, then, he sent troops to pillage the territory of Priene, Attalus assisting and urging him on from a private grudge which he entertained toward the Prienians. After losing many slaves and cattle, some of them being slaughtered close to the city itself, the Prienians, unable to defend themselves, first sent an embassy to the Rhodians and eventually appealed for protection to Rome. . . .

Attalus was king of Pergamum, and friendly to Ariarathes.

Part of the text here is wanting.

But he would not listen to the proposal. Hence it came about that the Prienians, who had great hopes from holding so large a sum of money, found themselves entirely disappointed. For they repaid Orophernes his deposit, and thanks to this same deposit, were unjustly exposed to severe damage at the hands of Ariarathes.

They had hoped the care of the deposit would bring them some advantage.

III. ALEXANDRIA

The former kings of Egypt, satisfied with what they possessed, and not desirous of foreign commerce, entertained a dislike to all mariners, especially the Greeks, who on account of the poverty of their own country, ravaged and coveted the property of other nations. They stationed a guard, who had orders to keep off all persons who approached. To the guard was assigned as a place of residence the spot called Rhacotis, which is now a part of the city of Alexandria, situated above the arsenal. At that time, however, it was a village. The country about the village was given up to herdsmen, who were also able by their numbers to prevent strangers from entering the country.

Exclusiveness of the early Egyptian kings.

Strabo xvii. i. 6.

When Alexander arrived, and perceived the advantages of the situation, he determined to build the city on the harbor. The resulting prosperity of the place was intimated, it is said, by a presage which occurred while the

Founding of Alexandria.

Ancient World, 281.

plan of the city was tracing. The architects were engaged in marking out the line of the wall with chalk, and had consumed it all, when the king arrived, whereupon the dispensers of flour supplied the workmen with a part of the flour which was provided for their own use; and this substance was used in tracing the greater part of the divisions of the streets. This, they said, was a good omen for the city.

**Advantages
of the city.**

Strabo xvii.
1. 7.

The advantages of the city are of various kinds. The site is washed by two seas; on the north by what is called the Egyptian Sea, and on the south by the sea of the lake Mareia, which is also called Mareotis. This lake is filled by many canals from the Nile, both by those above and those at the sides, through which a greater quantity of merchandise is imported than through those communicating with the sea. Hence the harbor on the lake is richer than the maritime harbor. The exports by sea from Alexandria exceed the imports. This any person may ascertain, at either Alexandria or Dicæarchia, by watching the arrival and departure of the merchant vessels, and observing how much heavier or lighter their cargoes are when they depart or when they return.

**Its whole-
some cli-
mate.**

In addition to the wealth derived from merchandise landed at the harbors on each side, on the sea and on the lake, the fine air is worthy of remark: this results from the city's being on two sides surrounded by water, and from the favorable effects of the rise of the Nile. For other cities, situated near lakes, have during the heats of summer a heavy and suffocating atmosphere, and lakes at their margins become swampy by the evaporation occasioned by the sun's heat. When a large quantity of moisture is exhaled from swamps, a noxious vapor rises, and is the cause of pestilential disorders. But at Alex-

andria, at the beginning of summer, the Nile, being full, fills the lake also, and leaves no marshy matter which is likely to occasion deadly vapors. At the same period the Etesian winds blow from the north over a large expanse of sea, and the Alexandrines in consequence pass their summer very pleasantly.

The shape of the site of the city is that of a chlamys or military cloak. The sides, which determine the length, are surrounded by water, and are about thirty stadia in extent; but the isthmuses, which determine the breadth of the sides, are each of seven or eight stadia, bounded on one side by the sea, and on the other by the lake. The whole city is intersected by streets for the passage of horsemen and chariots. Two of these are very broad, exceeding a plethrum in breadth, and cut one another at right angles. It contains also very beautiful public grounds, and royal palaces, which occupy a fourth or even a third part of its whole extent. For as each of the kings was desirous of adding some embellishment to the places dedicated to the public use, each added to the works already existing a building at his own expense; hence the expression of the poet may be here applied, "One after the other springs." All the buildings are connected with one another and with the harbor, and those also which are beyond it.

The Museum is a part of the palaces. It has a public walk and a place furnished with seats and a large hall, in which the men of learning, who belong to the Museum, take their common meal. This community possesses also property in common; and a priest, formerly appointed by the kings but at present by Cæsar, presides over the Museum.

A part belonging to the palaces consists of the so-called

The plan of the city.

Ib. 8.

A plethrum is about 100 feet.

The Museum.

Sema, an enclosure which contained the tombs of the kings and that of Alexander (the Great). . . . Ptolemy carried away the body of Alexander, and deposited it at Alexandria in the place where it now lies; not indeed in the same coffin, for the present one is of alabaster, whereas Ptolemy had deposited it in one of gold. . . .

Other build-
ings.

Ib. 10.

In short, the city of Alexandria abounds in public and sacred buildings. The most beautiful of the former is the Gymnasium with porticos exceeding a stadium in extent. In the middle of it are a court of justice and groves. Here also is a Paneium, an artificial mound of the shape of a fir-cone, resembling a pile of rock, to the top of which there is an ascent by a spiral path. From the summit may be seen the whole city lying all around and beneath it.

IV. SCIENCE

The form of
the earth.

Strabo i. 1.
20.

Geometry and astronomy, as we before remarked, seem absolutely indispensable in this science (geography). This in fact is evident, that without some such assistance, it would be impossible to be accurately acquainted with the configuration of the earth; its zones, dimensions, and the like information.

As the size of the earth has been demonstrated by other writers, we shall here take for granted and receive as accurate what they have advanced. We shall also assume that the earth is spheroidal, that its surface is likewise spheroidal, and above all, that bodies have a tendency towards its centre, which latter point is clear to the perception of the most average understanding. However, we may show summarily that the earth is spheroidal, from the consideration that all things however distant tend to its centre, and that every body is attracted toward its centre of gravity; this is more distinctly proved from ob-

servations of the sea and sky, for here the evidence of the senses, and common observation, is alone requisite. The convexity of the sea is a further proof of this to those who have sailed; for they cannot perceive lights at a distance when placed at the same level as their eyes, but if raised on high, they at once become perceptible to vision, though at the same time further removed. So, when the eye is raised, it sees what before was utterly imperceptible. Homer speaks of this when he says,

Lifted up on the vast wave he quickly beheld afar.

Odyssey v.
393.

Sailors, as they approach their destination, behold the shore continually raising itself to their view; and objects which had at first seemed low, begin to elevate themselves. Our gnomons also are, among other things, evidence of the revolution of the heavenly bodies; and common sense at once shows us, that if the depth of the earth were infinite, such a revolution could not take place.

Further, endeavoring to support the opinion that it is in accordance with natural philosophy to reckon the greatest dimension of the habitable earth from east to west, he (Eratosthenes) says that, according to the laws of natural philosophy, the habitable earth ought to occupy a greater length from east to west, than its breadth from north to south. The temperate zone, which we have already designated as the longest zone, is that which the mathematicians denominate a continuous circle returning upon itself. So that if the extent of the Atlantic Ocean were not an obstacle, we might easily pass by sea from Iberia to India, still keeping in the same parallel; the remaining portion of which parallel, measured as above in stadia, occupies more than a third of the whole circle: since the parallel drawn through Athens, on which we

**Dimensions
of the earth
and the
question of
its circum-
navigation.**

Eratosthe-
nes, quoted
by Strabo i.
4. 6.

A stadium is
600 feet.

have taken the distances from India to Iberia, does not contain altogether 200,000 stadia.¹

Physiology.

Pliny, *Natural History*, xi. 69, citing in part, Herophilus (3d century B.C.).

But Herophilus taught that the brain was the seat of the mind.

Herophilus taught the circulation of the blood.

Herophilus distinguished the arteries from the veins (and we may add, the sensory from the motor nerves).

Ib. 88.

The heart is the principal seat of the heat of the body; it is constantly beating, and moves as though it were one animal enclosed within another. It is enveloped in a membrane equally supple and strong, and is protected by the bulwarks formed by the ribs and the bone of the breast, as the primary source and origin of life. It contains within itself the primary receptacles for the spirit and the blood, in its sinuous cavity, which in the larger animals is threefold and in all at least twofold. Here the mind has its abode. From this source proceed two large veins, which branch into the front part and the back part of the body, and which, spreading out in a series of branches, convey the vital blood by other smaller veins over the whole body. . . .

The pulsation of the arteries is more perceptible on the surface of the limbs, and affords indications of nearly every disease, being either stationary, quickened or retarded, conformably to certain measures and metrical laws, which depend on the age of the patient, and which have been described with remarkable skill by Herophilus, who has been regarded as a prophet in the wondrous art of medicine.

V. SOCIAL LIFE

Contract of marriage in Egypt.

Shortly before Alexander's conquest.

1 argenteus = 5 shekels,
1 shekel = 6 obols.

I have accepted thee for wife, I have given thee one argenteus, in shekels 5, one argenteus in all for thy woman's gift. I must give thee 6 obols, their half is 3, to-day 6, by the month 3, by the double month 6, 36 for a year: equal to one argenteus and a fifth in shekels 6; one ar-

¹This would give a circumference of about 22,700 miles for the thirty-sixth parallel, or about 28,500 miles for the equator.

genteus and one fifth in all for thy toilet for a year. Lastly a tenth of an argenteus, in shekels one half, one argenteus one tenth of thy pin money by the month, which makes one argenteus and one fifth, in shekels 6, one argenteus and one fifth for thy pin money during the year. Thy pin money for one year is apart from thy toilet money. I must give it to thee each year, and it is thy right to exact the payment of thy toilet money, and thy pin money, which are to be placed to my account. I must give it to thee. Thy eldest son, my eldest son, shall be the heir of all my property, present and future. I will establish thee as wife.

In case I should despise thee, in case I should take another wife than thee, I will give thee 20 argenteus, in shekels 100, 20 argenteus in all. The entire property which is mine, and which I shall possess, is security of all the above words, until I have accomplished them according to their tenor.

We have arrived in health at Lampsacus, myself and Pythocles and Hermarchus and Ctesippus, and there we have found Themistas and the rest of the friends in health. It is good if you also are in health and your grandmother, and obey your grandfather and matron in all things, as you have done before. For be sure, the reason why both I and all the rest love you so much is that you obey these in all things. . . .

Isias to Hephæstion her brother greeting. If you are well, and things in general are going right, it would be as I am continually praying to the gods. I myself am in good health, and the child and all at home, making mention of you continually. When I got your letter from Horus, in which you explained that you were in retreat in the

The interest of this document lies in the minute provisions made for the wife. From the extract here given are omitted the date, names of persons concerned, and other technicalities at the beginning and the end. *Records of the Past*, x. 77 f.

One argenteus one tenth means one tenth argenteus.

Letter of Epicurus to a child.

Milligan, *Greek Papyri*, p. 5 f.

Third century B.C. This Epicurus is the famous philosopher. The child was probably an orphan under his care.

Letter of Isias to Hephæstion.

Milligan,
p. 9 f.
168 B.C.

In Egypt
husband and
wife often
called each
other sister
and brother;
sometimes
they were so
related.

The wife
complains
that her hus-
band, when
freed from
his vow to
the god, does
not return
to her.

It is thought
that those
under a vow
at this tem-
ple had some-
thing of the
character of
monks.

A letter of introduc- tion.

Milligan,
p. 24 f.

Second cen-
tury B.C.

Serapeum at Memphis, I immediately gave thanks to the gods that you were well; but that you did not return when all those who were shut up with you arrived distresses me; for having piloted myself and your child out of such a crisis, and having come to the last extremity because of the high price of grain, and thinking that now at last on your return I should obtain some relief, you have never even thought of returning, nor spared a look for our help-
less state. While you were still at home, I went short altogether, not to mention how long a time has passed since, and such disasters; and you having sent nothing. And now that Horus who brought the letter has told about your having been released from your retreat, I am utterly distressed. Nor is this all, but since your mother is in great trouble about it, I entreat you for her sake and for ours to return to the city, unless indeed something most pressing occupies you. Pray take care of yourself that you may be in health. Good-bye.

(Addressed) To Hephæstion.

Polycrates to Philoxenus greeting. If you are well and things in general are going right, it will be as we desire. We ourselves are in health. As regards those things we wished, we have sent you Glaucias who is personally at-
tached to us to consult you. Please therefore give him a hearing, and instruct him concerning those things he has come about. But above all take care of yourself that you may be in health. Good-bye.

(Addressed) To Philoxenus.

STUDIES

1. Why had not Peloponnesus united under one government? What advantages came to this region from the Achæan league? What causes contributed to the rise of this league? What elements

of democracy had it? What were its officers? What part had Aratus in the building of the union? What kind of business came before the federal assembly described by Polybius? Why did various kings seek the friendship of the league? What stand did the league take toward the offer of gifts?

2. How did the Rhodians fall somewhat below the Achæans in honor? Would a modern state or educational institution accept such a gift? What did Polybius consider wrong in such acceptance? Why do we say his opinion of the Rhodians is complimentary to them and to the Greeks in general? Describe the conduct of Priene in defending a trust committed to her. From these passages what do you conclude as to Greek character at this time?

3. Describe the situation of Alexandria; its climate. Describe its extent and plan. What was the Museum? What was its purpose? What were the other public works?

4. Enumerate the sciences mentioned in this selection. What did the ancients know of the form and dimensions of the earth? How did they prove the earth to be round? What knowledge had Herophilus of physiology?

5. What are the terms of the marriage contract here mentioned?

BOOK III

Rome

CHAPTER XXVIII

A. INTRODUCTION TO THE SOURCES

THE Romans derived all the elements of their higher culture from the Greeks. The most valuable of these acquisitions was the alphabet. At an unknown time in the period of the kings some of the Romans learned from the Greeks to read and write. Priests wrote prayers and rituals; and the pontiffs composed the *fasti*, or calendar—a list of days of each month setting forth the festivals, the market-days, and the days which were lucky or unlucky for doing business. Little however was written that could be of service to the historians, who lived hundreds of years afterward. Because of the lack of such serviceable material we call the regal period prehistoric.

The beginnings of writing.

Ancient World, 326 ff.

About the beginning of the Republic the Romans commenced to keep a list—also called *fasti*—of their annual magistrates, and to record their laws and treaties. Gradually was formed a considerable body of written material, consisting of the documents above mentioned and of funeral orations, family chronicles, and poetry. The earliest historian was Fabius Pictor, a Roman senator during the war with Hannibal. He wrote in Greek a history of his country from the earliest times to his own day. As he grouped events by years, his work is called

The *fasti*, laws, and treaties.

Latter part of third century B.C.

Annals. After him followed a long succession of annalists, who wrote either in Greek or in Latin. The first Roman to adopt the native tongue for historical use was Cato the Censor; it is chiefly for this reason that he is considered the founder of Latin prose literature. "He tells us that he himself wrote books on history with his own hand in large letters that his boy might start in life with a useful knowledge of what his forefathers had done." Cato and other public men of his time wrote their political and judicial speeches, thus creating in literature the department of oratory. Not long after Cato lived Polybius, the ablest writer of Roman history. His work has been mentioned in an earlier chapter.

*Ancient
World, 405 f.*

P. 73.

Historians.

The period of the annalists, closing about 80 B.C., was followed by that of the historians.

Cæsar,
100-44 B.C.

First in order let us consider Gaius Julius Cæsar. While in war and in statesmanship his achievements place him among the foremost men of the world, his literary genius is scarcely less remarkable. In his writings he shows a faultless taste and a clear, direct, masterful style. His *Commentaries on the Gallic War* and *On the Civil War* are a plain but forceful narrative of his wonderful campaigns. The primary object of these works was to justify his wars and his political policy.

*Ancient
World, 445.*

Sallust.

Somewhat later Sallust wrote a monograph *On the Conspiracy of Catiline* and another *On the Jugurthine War*. Along with his narrative of events, he tried impartially to analyze the character of society and the motives of conduct. These works we still have, but most of his *History*, in which he described the events following Sulla's death, has been lost. Cæsar and Sallust were the chief historians of their age. Though each noble family recorded the deeds of illustrious ancestors, no national interest in biography

arose till the closing years of the republic, when the great men of Rome began to attract all eyes. At this time lived Cornelius Nepos, mentioned above among the sources for Greek history. The same chapter speaks of his Greek contemporary, Diodorus, whose *Historical Library* treats of both Greek and Roman affairs.

Nepos.

P. 73 f.

In this age Roman oratory reached the height of its development in Marcus Tullius Cicero. As Cæsar embodied imperialism, Cicero represented the better spirit of the republic. As a statesman he cherished high ideals of republican freedom; as a citizen he was intensely patriotic; and his private character was worthy and amiable. His achievement was to bring the prose of his country to formal perfection,—to make Latin a great classical language. This result he accomplished by developing, refining, and enriching his mother tongue not only in oratory but in nearly every style of prose from philosophy to familiar correspondence. It is chiefly owing to his creative genius that Latin has been the universal language of learning and culture from his time almost to the present day. If in reading his *Orations* we make allowance for their rhetorical coloring and their political bias, we shall find them valuable for the study of the age. More trustworthy are his *Letters* to friends, in which he speaks candidly of passing events.

Marcus Tullius Cicero,
106-43 B.C.

Rome, 182;
Ancient
World, 445 f.

As the temperament of the Romans was realistic and practical, they met with little success in imaginative literature. Lucretius, a poet of the Ciceronian age, composed in verse a work *On the Nature of the World*, in which he tried by means of science to dispel from the mind all fear of death and of the gods,—to free men from superstition. Notwithstanding the scientific details in which the poem abounds, it is a work of genius. Catullus, a

Lucretius.

Catullus.

brilliant poet of the same age, wrote beautiful lyrics on subjects of love and life, and some bitter lampoons.

The Augustan Age,
31 B.C.-14
A.D.

The principate of Augustus is considered the golden age of Roman literature. A most interesting and valuable document from this period is Augustus' own account of his administration preserved in an inscription. Scholars term it the *Monumentum Ancyranum* because it was found on a temple in Ancyra, Asia Minor, though we may designate it simply as his *Deeds*. The most eminent author of prose in this age was Livy, who wrote a *History* of Rome in a hundred and forty-two books. The military and personal details in the early books are largely mythical; yet even in this part the author expresses vividly and accurately the character of Rome and of her citizens and institutions. From the time of the Punic Wars, the details of every kind are in a high degree trustworthy.

Livy.

Books i-x
and xxi-xlv,
with mere
summaries
of the re-
maining
books, have
alone come
down to us,
and are our
chief source
for the earlier
periods.

Though in his conception of the aim and method of history he was far inferior to Polybius, whom he had read, he loved what he supposed to be the truth and the right. His sympathies were intensely republican; but he consented to work for Augustus. His love of law and order, his hatred of violence and vulgarity, served the interests of his patron, while the vast compass and the stately style of his history, like the splendid public works of the age, helped make the imperial government magnificent.

**Dionysius of
Halicarnas-
sus.**

While Livy was writing his great work, Dionysius of Halicarnassus was compiling a detailed history of Rome from the earliest times to the beginning of the Punic Wars. As an historian he is on the whole inferior to Livy; and yet his work is a valuable source for the life and institutions of early Rome.

Strabo the geographer, who wrote under Augustus and

Tiberius, has been mentioned in the chapter which treats P. 74. of the sources for Greek history.

In the same age Vergil, Rome's most splendid poet, **Vergil.** wrote an epic poem, the *Æneid*. In this story of the wanderings of Æneas he glorifies the beginnings of Rome and, at the same time, the imperial family, which claimed descent from the hero of his poem. *Rome, 17, 216; Ancient World, 461.*

Horace, author of *Odes* and *Satires* and *Epistles* in **Horace.** verse, was the poet of contentment and common sense, *Ancient World, 461.* who bade his friends—

Snatch gayly the joys which the moment shall bring,
And away every care and perplexity fling.

Leave the future to the gods, he taught. A comfortable villa, some shady nook in summer, and in winter a roaring fireplace, good wine, pleasant friends, and a mind free from care make an ideal life. After the stormy end of the republic, the world needed such a lesson; and though he remained independent in spirit, Horace quietly served his prince. His work abounds in references to manners, customs, and events, and hence is valuable for an understanding of the age.

In the same age lived Ovid, the polished poet of the **Ovid.** gay, immoral circle which surrounded Julia, granddaughter of Augustus. To the student of history his most valuable work is the *Fasti*, a metrical calendar containing much curious information regarding Roman religion.

Under Tiberius the republican reaction against the principate was at its height; the time was therefore so unfavorable to literary work, that this administration produced no writers of talent or especial merit. Velleius Paterculus, who had served Tiberius as a military officer, wrote a short *History of Rome* to the year 30 A.D. The earlier period he treats briefly, his own age with greater **Velleius Paterculus.**

fulness. Wordy and pompous, he is nevertheless fairly accurate in his statement of facts; and for the principate of Tiberius he enjoys the advantage of being our only contemporary source. Undoubtedly sincere in his admiration of the emperor, he overflows with eulogy, like a partisan rather than a calm-tempered historian.

Seneca.

*Ancient
World*, 467.

Petronius.

**Pliny the
Elder.**

Josephus.

*Ancient
World*, 46.

**The Age of
the Good
Emperors,**
96-180 A.D.

Tacitus,
about 55-120
A.D.

*Ancient
World*, 493.

The progress of the Romans in morality and kindliness under the early princes is well represented by Seneca. A Spaniard by birth, a Stoic, and a rhetorician, he became the tutor and afterward the prime minister of Nero. His essays on moral and philosophic subjects are mostly presented in the form of *Letters* and *Dialogues*. With Seneca we may contrast Petronius, "Master of Pleasures," at the court of Nero. He wrote a character novel in perhaps twenty books, of which we have mere fragments. The most important is the *Dinner of Trimalchio*, a satire on a coarse, uneducated freedman who had suddenly grown rich. It is of great value for social life. Under Vespasian Pliny the Elder wrote a *Natural History* in thirty-seven books. In addition to the natural sciences, it includes geography, medicine, and art. An encyclopædia compiled from two thousand different works, it is a great storehouse of knowledge. Not long afterward Josephus, a Hebrew writer, composed two important historical works, *Jewish Antiquities* and *The Jewish War*.

The sufferings of republicanism under Domitian, followed by the happy reigns of Nerva and Trajan, produced the last great writers of classic Latin, Tacitus and Juvenal. One wrote history, the other satire, yet with a kindred spirit. The *Annals* and the *Histories*¹ of Tacitus covered

¹ Of the *Annals* we have bks. i-iv, parts of v and vi, and xi-xvi, with gaps at the beginning and end of the last group of books; of the *Histories* there remain bks. i-iv and the first half of v.

the period from the death of Augustus to the death of Domitian. Besides these larger works he wrote a monograph on the *Life and Character of Agricola*, the conqueror of Britain, and another, the *Germania*, on the character and institutions of the Germans of his time. His experience as an army officer and a statesman gave him a clear understanding of military and political events. He was conscientious, too, and though he made little use of documents as sources, we may trust his statement of all facts which could be known to the public. His style is exceedingly rapid, vivid, and energetic. His excellencies as an historian, however, are balanced by serious defects. Though he owed his seat in the senate to Domitian, he belonged to the strictest circle of aristocrats, who were dissatisfied with the principate though they had nothing better to propose. Hatred of the "tyrants" from Tiberius to Domitian, and the bitterness he felt because of his party's failure, supplied him with inspiration for his gloomy narrative. To most critics his chief merit lies in his dramatic portrayal of character; but his prejudice led him unconsciously to invent bad motives even for the best acts of the emperors, especially of Tiberius. His characters, however vivid and self-consistent, are the product of his gloomy, bitter imagination. Valuable as his work is to one who can distinguish between fact and fancy, it is as much satire as history.

Like the historian, Juvenal, author of *Satires*, was powerful and dramatic. With the inspiration of wrath and in the spirit of Tacitus, he looked back to the society of Rome under Nero and Domitian to find in it nothing but hideous vice. The pictures drawn by the historian are grand and fascinating; those of the satirist repel us by their ugliness; the works of both masters are unreal.

Juvenal,
about 60-
140 A.D.

*Ancient
World*, 493

Pliny the Younger.

When Rome renounced the republic, so far as to consider her emperors good, she lost her motive for literary art. Her writers became shallow and insipid, without thought or imagination, who could only repeat what they had read. The best of this class was Pliny the Younger, an orator, and for a time governor of Bithynia. One of his speeches, a eulogy on Trajan, which has come down to us, is an example of the tiresome, feeble style of the day. His *Letters*, polished yet trivial, are valuable for the study of the social life and literary activities of his time. The principate of Hadrian is represented in literature by Suetonius, for a time the emperor's secretary. In his *Lives of the Cæsars* he arranges his material topically, with little reference to chronological order. Though accurate in his presentation of political matters, generally too of personal details, he has marred his writings by the introduction of a great amount of unfounded gossip and calumny against the princes and their families. He was a compiler without literary talent. The same is true of a younger contemporary, Aulus Gellius, whose *Attic Nights* is a storehouse of literary, religious, political and legal antiquities. The title is due to the circumstance that the compilation of the work occupied the author's evenings during a winter spent in Athens.

Suetonius,
about 75-
160 A.D.

Aulus Gellius,
born about
130 A.D.

Revival of Hellenic literature.

Dio Chrysostom, about
40 to after
112 A.D.

Plutarch,
P. 74.

Epictetus,
about 50-120.

A revival of Hellenic literature in the second century A.D. produced some authors of unusual merit. The literary activity of Dio Chrysostom, a rhetorician and moralist, extends from Vespasian to Trajan. Among his *Orations* are some which treat interestingly of morals and of political and social conditions in Greece. About the same time Plutarch wrote his *Lives*, referred to in the chapter on Greek sources. In the same generation with Plutarch lived Epictetus, a Stoic philosopher, who taught

the brotherhood of man and the loving goodness of God the all-wise Father. His *Discourses* were written down by a pupil, Arrian, whose *Anabasis of Alexander* has already been mentioned. In Arrian's generation Appian of Alexandria wrote a narrative *History of Rome*. It is true that he was uncritical, yet we find much valuable information in the parts of his work which are still extant. Somewhat later Marcus Aurelius composed in Greek his *Meditations*, philosophic thoughts written down by the Stoic emperor without order, just as they occurred to him. To the period following his reign belongs the active life of Dio Cassius of Bithynia. Although a Greek, he became a Roman senator and held various important administrative offices. This experience in practical affairs was of the greatest value to him as a historian. He composed in Greek a *History of Rome* in eighty books, extending from the earliest times to 229 A.D. The work shows remarkable insight and judgment. We have books xxxvi-lx entire, with fragments and an abridgment of the rest. The period following Marcus Aurelius, 180-228 A.D., represented by fragments of Dio Cassius, is covered in the *History of the Empire Since Marcus Aurelius* by Herodian, a Greek who lived somewhat later.

P. 75.

Appian,
about 95-
175.

Marcus
Aurelius,
121-180.

Dio Cassius,
about 155-
240.

Herodian,
about 165-
255.

Minor
sources.

Several minor sources deserve briefer mention. Florus, whose time and country are unknown, composed in a highly rhetorical style an *Epitome of Roman History* from the founding of the city to the beginning of the empire. At the request of Valens, Eutropius wrote a dry *Compendium of Roman History* to the accession of his patron—364 A.D. Aurelius Victor, who lived in the fourth century A.D., is said to have composed the *Origin of the Roman Nation; On the Illustrious Men of the City of Rome; The Cæsars*, brief biographies of the emperors from

Augustus to Constantius; *Life and Character of the Roman Emperors*, from Augustus to Theodosius. It is probable, however, that all these works are not by the same hand. The six authors of the *Augustan History*—the lives of the emperors from Hadrian to Numerianus, 117–284 A.D.—wrote under Diocletian and Constantine, and dedicated their biographies to the one or the other of these emperors. Spartianus was the author of the life of Hadrian; and Capitolinus of the lives of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. This work, however devoid of literary merit, is a highly important source.

**Ammianus
Marcellinus,**
about 330–
401 A.D.

Res Gestæ.

An author of incomparably greater historical insight and judgment was Ammianus Marcellinus, a Greek of Antioch, Syria. Born in the reign of Constantine, he entered the army at an early age and attained to high commands in a long and honorable career. Late in life he wrote in Latin a history of the emperors' *Achievements* from Nerva to Valens in thirty-one books. There remain only books XIV–XXXI. His attention to personal and racial character, customs and social conditions makes his work unusually interesting and instructive. He was the last distinguished historian of Rome. Approximately to the date of his death belongs the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius, a dialogue of learned men on literary questions, religion, and various customs of earlier Rome. This work should be classed with the *Attic Nights* of Gellius.

Macrobius.

**Christian
Writers.**

Among the Christian writers of ancient times the first in order are the authors of the books of the New Testament. Then follow a succession of "Christian Fathers," who interpreted and expanded the doctrines of the Church. Of this class the earliest author represented in the present volume is Lactantius, a contemporary of Diocletian and Constantine. A rhetorician of fine literary taste, he was

Lactantius,
about 260–
330 A.D.

converted to Christianity probably in the last persecution. Among his numerous writings the sketch entitled *On the Manner in which the Persecutors died* is of chief interest to students of history. A doubt once raised as to its authenticity seems to be groundless. To the same generation belongs Eusebius, bishop of Cesarea, an intimate friend and ardent admirer of Constantine. He was a zealous Christian and a learned, prolific writer. His *Ecclesiastical History* in ten books narrates in detail the rise of Christianity and its relation to the empire.

Eusebius.

A later age is represented by St. Jerome. He was a man of native ability and broad deep learning, whose ascetic temperament led him to pass five years in solitary life among the hermits of the Syrian desert. He is especially celebrated for his translation of the *Scriptures* into Latin. This version is known as the *Vulgate*. He was chiefly instrumental, too, in introducing monastic life into the West. His *Letters* are a storehouse of information on all aspects of social life of his age. Even more distinguished is his younger contemporary, St. Augustine, whose *Confessions* gives an account of his own life, and incidentally throws light on the times in which he lived. A philosopher and teacher of rhetoric, he was converted to Christianity, and baptized in his thirty-third year. Thenceforth he was a most zealous supporter of the faith. His various writings, filling sixteen large volumes, have contributed more than the works of any other man to the final shaping of Catholic Christianity. Along with his *Confessions* the work of greatest interest to the general student of history is his *City of God*. A leading object of this book is to refute the charge of the pagans that the misfortunes of Rome were due to Christianity. He demonstrates accordingly the infinite superiority of his

St. Jerome,
345-420
A.D.St. August-
tine, 354-
430 A.D.

Salvianus.

De gubernatione Dei.

God in goodness and protecting power to the countless deities of pagan Rome. A still later author is Salvianus, presbyter of Marseilles, who lived nearly through the fifth century—through the confusion and violence of the barbarian invasions. In his *Providence of God* he explains the misfortunes of the times as divine punishments of the wealthy, governing class for their immorality, greed, and oppression. His fiery zeal leads him to exaggerate the miseries and the vices of his age. These defenders of the faith are merely representative of a host of Christian Fathers.

Eginhard.

Quite distinct is the last author of this volume, Eginhard, secretary and private chaplain of Charlemagne. His *Life of the Emperor Karl the Great*, a simple trustworthy Latin narrative, is the only piece of historical writing of the period in which it falls.

Inscriptions and buildings.

Inscriptions, too, form an exceedingly valuable source. Almost wholly wanting in the regal period and early republic, they grow abundant toward the end of the republican period; and for the administration of the empire they furnish the most precious information. For a full and accurate appreciation of Roman history, the public works should also be studied.

AUTHORS AND DOCUMENTS

Ammianus Marcellinus, translated by C. D. Yonge. Macmillan.

Appian, *Roman History*, translated by White. 2 vols. Macmillan.

Augustan History, by Capitolinus, Spartianus, etc. Selections translated by the editors.

Augustine, St., *Confessions*, translated by W. Montgomery. Cambridge: University Press. *City of God*, translated by J. Healey. 3 vols. London: Dent.

Augustus, *Deeds* ("Monumentum Ancyranum"), translated by Fairley, in "Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History," V. University of Pennsylvania.

- Aurelius Antoninus, Marcus, *Meditations*, translated by Long. New York: A. L. Burt Company.
- Aurelius Victor, *The Cæsars*. Selection translated by Miss Rachel R. Hiller.
- Cæsar, *Commentaries*, translated by W. A. McDevitte. Macmillan. Revised by the editors.
- Cato, *On Agriculture*, translated by Dr. E. H. Oliver.
- Catullus, *Poems*, translated (Bohn). Macmillan.
- Cicero, *Orations*, translated by C. D. Yonge. Macmillan. *Republic*, edited and translated by Hardingham. London: Quaritch.
- Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, translated by H. B. Foster. 6 vols. Troy, N. Y.: Pafraets.
- Dio Chrysostom, *Orations*. Selections translated by the editors.
- Diodorus Siculus, *Historical Library*, translated by Booth. London. 1814. (Out of print.) Revised by the editors.
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, translated by Spelman. London. 1758. (Out of print.) Revised by the editors.
- Eginhard, *Life of the Emperor Karl the Great*, translated by W. Glais-ter. London: Bell.
- Epictetus, *Discourses*, translated by George Long. Macmillan.
- Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, in "Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers," I.
- Gellius, Aulus, *Attic Nights*, translated by Beloe. (Out of print.) ✓
Revised by Dr. E. G. Sihler.
- Herodian, *History*. Selection translated by the editors.
- Horace, *Works*, translated by Martin. 2 vols. Scribners.
- Inscriptions, Latin*, translated by the editors, unless otherwise stated.
- Jerome, St., *Letters*, in "Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers," VI.
- Josephus, *Works*, translated by W. Whiston, revised by Shilleto. 5 vols. Macmillan.
- Justin, Nepos, and Eutropius, translated (Bohn). Macmillan.
- Juvenal, *Satires* (D. Iunii Iuvenalis *Satiræ*) with a Literal English Prose Translation and Notes by Lewis. Macmillan.
- Koran. Selections from the Kur-ân*, edited by Stanley Lane-Poole. London, 1879.
- Lactantius, *On the Manner in which the Persecutors died*, in "Ante-Nicene Fathers," VII.
- Livy, *History of Rome*, translated by Spillan. 4 vols. Macmillan. Revised by the editors.

Lucretius, *On the Nature of the World* (T. Lucreti Cari, *de Rerum Natura libri sex*) translated by Munro. London: Bell.

New Testament, The.

Ovid, *Fasti*, translated (Bohn). Macmillan.

Papyri. See p. 76.

Petronius, *Banquet of Trimalchio*, translated by H. T. Peck. Dodd, Mead and Co.

Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, translated. 6 vols. (Bohn) Macmillan.

Pliny, *Letters*, translated by Church and Brodribb. Philadelphia: Lippincott.

Plutarch, *Lives*, translated by Stewart and Long. 4 vols. Macmillan.

Polybius, *Histories*, translated by Shuckburgh. 2 vols. Macmillan.

Sallust, Florus, and Velleius Paterculus, translated (Bohn). Macmillan.

Salvianus, *Providence of God*. Selection translated by the editors.

Strabo, *Geography*, translated by Hamilton and Falconer. Revised by the editors.

Suetonius, *Lives of the Cæsars*, translated by Thomas, revised by Forester. Macmillan.

Tacitus, *Annals*, translated by Church and Brodribb. Macmillan.

Germania, translated by W. H. Fyfe. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Theodosian Code. Selection translated by Dr. E. G. Sihler.

Vergil, *Æneid*, translated by Crane (verse). New York: Baker, Taylor.

B. ITALY AND HER PEOPLE

I. THE PO VALLEY

The form of
Italy.

Polybius ii.
14.

Italy as a whole is a triangle, of which the eastern side is bounded by the Ionian Sea and the Adriatic Gulf, the southern and western sides by the Sicilian and Tyrrhenian (or Tuscan) seas. These two sides converge to form the apex of the triangle. . . . The third side, or base, of this triangle is on the north, and is formed by the chain of the Alps, which stretches across the country from Marseilles and the Sardinian Sea, with no break, nearly to the head of the Adriatic Sea.

To the south of this range, which I said we must regard as the base of the triangle, are the most northerly plains of Italy, the largest and most fertile, so far as I know, in all Europe. This is the district with which we are at present concerned.

The valley
of the Po.

It is a superb plain variegated with fruitful hills. The Po divides it almost through the midst; one side is called Cispadana, and the other Transpadana. Cispadana includes the part next to the Apennines, together with Liguria; and Transpadana includes the remainder. The Ligurians of the mountains and the Celts of the plain occupy Cispadana; the Celts and the Venetians inhabit the other division.

Strabo v. i.
4.

(Or Gauls.)

The fertility of the Po valley is proved by its population, the size of the cities, and its wealth; in all these respects the Romans of this country surpass the rest of Italy. The cultivated land produces fruits in abundance and of every kind, and the woods contain so great a quantity of mast that Rome is supplied chiefly from the swine fed there. As it is well watered, it produces millet to perfection. This condition affords the greatest security against famine, as millet resists every severity of climate, and never fails even when other grains are scarce. The pitch works are amazing, and the casks prove the abundance of wine; for the casks, formed of wood, are larger than houses, and the great supply of pitch makes them inexpensive.

The prod-
ucts.

Strabo v. i.
12.

The soft wood, which is by far the best, is produced in the country round Mutina (modern Modena) and the Scultanna River. The coarse wool, on the other hand, which forms the main article of clothing among the Italian slaves, is grown in Liguria and the country of the Symbri. A medium kind, grown about Patavium (modern Padua), is used for the finer carpets, cassocks, and everything else

of the same sort with the wool on one or both sides. The mines are not now worked so diligently, because they are not equally profitable with those of Transalpine Gaul and Iberia.

II. THE ETRUSCANS

The people.

Polybius ii.
17.
(Phlegræan,
"Volcanic,"
from the fact
that the soil
contained
much
volcanic
matter.)

These plains (of the Po) were anciently inhabited by the Etruscans, who at the same time occupied the Phlegræan plains round Capua and Nola; the two places last mentioned have been most celebrated, because they were visited by many people, and so became known. In speaking then of the Etruscan empire, we should not refer to the district occupied by the Etruscans, at the present time, but to these northern plains, and to what they did when they lived there.

Their power.

Diodorus v.
40.

In ancient times they were valiant, and enjoyed a large country, and built many famous cities. With their great navy they were masters of the sea which washes the west coast of Italy, and which they called Tyrrhenian (or Tuscan), after their own name. As one of their military equipments they had invented a most useful instrument of war,—the trumpet, which from them is called Tyrrhena. To the generals of their army they gave as badges of honor an ivory throne and a purple robe. They invented porticoes for their houses, to avoid the trouble and noise of a crowd of servants, and other hangers-on. Introducing these customs into their commonwealth, the Romans greatly improved them.

Their learning.

(To the time
of Diodorus;
p. 73.)

The Etruscans gave themselves up to learning, especially to the study of nature. In these researches they were especially anxious to discover the meaning of thunder and lightning. To this day, therefore, they are admired by princes the world over, who employ their soothsayers in interpreting the supernatural effects of thunder.

They enjoy a very rich country, well tilled and improved; and so reap abundance of all sorts of fruits, not only for necessary food but for pleasure and delight. Their luxury.

They have their tables spread twice a day, furnished with every variety of food, even to luxury and excess.

Their carpets are interwoven with flower designs, and they use a great many silver cups of many forms. Of household servants they have a large number, some very beautiful, others rich in apparel, above the condition of servants. Slaves and freedmen alike have several apartments allowed them, completely furnished and adorned.

Finally the Etruscans threw off their primitive sobriety, and now live an idle, profligate life in riot and drunkenness. There is no wonder then that they have lost the honor and reputation their fathers gained through warlike achievements.

III. LATIUM AND CAMPANIA

The whole of Latium is fertile, and abounds in every product; we should except a few districts along the coast, which are marshy and unhealthful. . . . Some parts also may be too mountainous; yet even these regions are not absolutely idle and useless, for they furnish abundant pasturage, wood, and the peculiar products of marsh and rock. For instance, Cæcubum, wholly a marsh, nourishes a vine, which produces excellent wine. Latium.
Strabo v. 3. 5

One of the maritime cities of Latium is Ostia. It has no port because of the accumulation of silt brought down by the Tiber, which is swelled by many rivers. Vessels therefore come to anchor further out, and yet with some danger. Gain, however, overcomes everything; for there are many lighters in readiness to freight and unfreight the larger ships before they approach the mouth of the river, Ostia.

to enable them to finish their voyage speedily. Lightened of a part of their cargo, they enter the river and sail up to Rome, a distance of a hundred and ninety *stadia*. Such is the city of Ostia founded by Ancus Marcius.

(A *stadium* is about 600 feet.)

Campania.

Next in order after Latium is Campania, which extends along the Tuscan Sea. . . . This plain is fertile above all others, and is entirely surrounded by fruitful hills and the Samnite and Oscan mountains.

Polybius iii.
91.

The plains about Capua are the best in Italy for fertility and beauty and nearness to the sea, and for the harbors, into which run the merchants who are sailing to Italy from all parts of the world. They contain, too, the most famous and beautiful cities of Italy. . . . In the centre of these plains lies the richest of all the cities,—Capua. No tale in all mythology wears a greater appearance of probability than that which is told of these lowlands, which like others of remarkable beauty are called the Phlegræan plains; for surely none are more likely for beauty and fertility to have been contended for by the gods.

The text is uncertain.

Strabo v. 4. 3.

In addition to these advantages, they are strongly sheltered by nature and difficult of approach; for one side is protected by the sea, and the rest by a long high chain of mountains, through which lead but three passes from the interior, all narrow and difficult,—one from Samnium (a second from Latium), and a third from Hirpini.

One proof of the fertility of this country is that it produces the finest corn. I refer to the grain from which a groat is made superior to all kinds of rice, and to almost all other farinaceous food. They say that some of the plains are bearing crops all the year round,—two crops of rye, a third of panic, and sometimes a fourth of vegetables. From there, too, the Romans procure their finest

wines. . . . Furthermore, the whole country round Venafrum, and bordering the plains, is rich in olives.

IV. ROME

In the interior the first city above Ostia is Rome—the only city built on the Tiber. Its position was fixed by necessity rather than choice. We may add that those who afterward enlarged it were not at liberty to select a better site, as they were prevented by what was already built. . . . It seems to me that the first founders were of the opinion, in regard to themselves and their successors, that the Romans had to depend not on fortifications but on arms and valor, for safety and wealth, and that walls were not a defence to men, but men were a defence to walls. At the time of its founding, when the large and fertile districts about the city belonged to others, and while it lay easily open to assault, there was nothing in its position which could be looked upon as favorable; but when by valor and labor these districts became its own, there succeeded a tide of prosperity which surpassed the advantages of every other place.

Situation.

Strabo v. 3. 7.

Notwithstanding the prodigious increase of the city, there has been plenty of food, and of wood and stone for ceaseless building, made necessary by the falling down of houses, by fires, and by sales, which seem never to cease. These sales are a kind of voluntary destruction of houses; each owner tears down and rebuilds one part or another according to his own taste. For these purposes the many quarries, the forests, and the rivers which convey the materials, offer wonderful facilities. . . .

Buildings.

To avert from the city damages of the kind referred to, Augustus Cæsar instituted a company of freedmen to lend assistance at fires; and to prevent the falling of houses;

he decreed that new buildings should not be carried so high as formerly, and that those erected along the public streets should not exceed seventy feet in height. These improvements must have ceased, had it not been for the facilities afforded by the quarries, the forests, and the ease of transportation.

Greatness. Rome is now mistress of every accessible country; every sea owns her power. She is the first and only state recorded in history which ever made the East and West the boundaries of her empire. And her dominion has not been of short duration, but more lasting than that of any other commonwealth or kingdom. For after the city had been founded, she conquered many warlike nations, her neighbors, and still advanced, overcoming all opposition. . . . By the conquest of all Italy, she was emboldened to proceed even to universal empire; and having driven the Carthaginians from off the sea, whose maritime strength was superior to all others, she subdued Macedon, the most powerful nation by land till that time; and as no enemy was left either among the Greeks or the barbarians, she is mistress of the whole world. . . . There is no nation that claims a share in her universal power, or refuses obedience to it. But I need say no more to prove that I have not made choice of a petty subject, or proposed to relate trivial or obscure actions, but have undertaken the history of the most illustrious state and of the most brilliant achievements that can possibly be treated.

Dionysius i. 3.

STUDIES

1. Describe the products of the Po Valley. What was its value to Rome?
2. Who were the Etruscans? Give an account of their civilization.

3. How does Latium compare with Etruria? Is it more or less fertile than Campania?

4. Describe the situation of Rome. What is said of her buildings? What came to be her political position? Name the authors of the selections I-IV and state when each lived and what he wrote.

CHAPTER XXIX

ROME UNDER THE KINGS

I. ROMULUS

**The found-
ing of Rome.**

Dionysius i.
88.

The Romans founded their colonies in this way, and therefore believed their own city to have been thus founded. In fact all their fundamental institutions, religious, social, and political, they uncritically assigned to their kings as founders.

**The tribes
and the
curiæ.**

WHEN everything was performed which he conceived to be acceptable to the gods, he called all the people to a place appointed, and described a quadrangular figure about the hill, tracing with a plow drawn by a bull and a cow yoked together, one continuous furrow, designed to receive the foundation of the wall; hence this custom remains among the Romans of tracing a furrow with a plow round the place where they design to build the city. After he had finished these things and sacrificed the bull and the cow, and also having performed the initial gift of many other sacrifices, he set the people to work. This day the Romans even at present celebrate every year as one of their greatest festivals, and call it Parilia (April 21). On that day, which falls in the beginning of the spring, the husbandmen and shepherds offer up a sacrifice of thanksgiving for the increase of their cattle. But I cannot certainly say whether they anciently chose this day as one of public rejoicing; and for that reason looked upon it as the most fitting for the building of the city; or, whether the building of it having been begun on that day, they consecrated it, and dedicated it to the worship of those gods who are propitious to shepherds.

Appointed king, Romulus proved himself brave and skilful in war and wise in the adoption of a most excellent

form of government. He divided the whole population into three parts, each of which he placed under the command of a distinguished person. Then dividing these parts into ten companies, he appointed the bravest men to be their leaders. The larger divisions he called tribes, and the smaller *curiæ*. The leaders of the tribes were tribunes; those of the *curiæ* were *curiones*.

Dionysius
ii. 7-14
(abridged).

Another division of the population he made on the principle of honor and worth. Those who, illustrious by birth and commended for their virtue, were well-to-do and had children, he separated from the ignoble and base and needy. Those of inferior fortune he called plebeians; the better class he named *patres* (fathers) because they were older than the rest, or because they had children, or on account of their illustrious birth, or for all these reasons. Their descendants were called patricians. Whenever the king wished to bring the patricians together, his heralds used to summon them by their own name and that of the father; but the common people were called to the assembly by servants, who went about trumpeting on ox-horns.

The social
classes.

Ancient
World, 330 f.

After Romulus had distinguished the nobles from the commons, he passed laws to regulate the duties of each rank. The nobles were to be priests, magistrates, and judges, and were to help him manage the affairs of the city. The commons he excused from this business, for they had neither experience in such matters nor leisure to attend to them. They were to farm, to rear cattle, and to carry on the money-making industries, that they might have no time for party strife, such as we find in other cities, where those in office abuse the lower classes, and the base and needy envy the richer citizens.

Placing the plebeians as a trust in the hands of the patricians, he permitted each commoner to choose as

The patrons
and the
clients.

(Dionysius is probably wrong in assuming that all plebeians became clients.)

(We infer that the clients had a right to vote.)

The senate and the assembly

Ancient World, 332.

(The *comitia curiata*.)

The liberality of Rome toward strangers.

Dionysius ii. 16.

patron the noble whom he wished. The patrons were to explain the laws to their clients, who were ignorant of such matters, and to watch over their business affairs as a father does for his children, to sue for them when they were unjustly treated, and to defend them when sued. The clients were to contribute to the dowry of their patron's daughters, to furnish the ransom in case the patron or his son should be taken captive, to pay their lord's fines, and to bear part of the expenses of the offices he held, that he might perform his public duties with becoming dignity. It was impious for patron and client to accuse each other or to testify or vote against each other.

After making these arrangements, Romulus resolved to appoint councillors who were to help him manage the government. For this purpose he selected a hundred men from the patricians, and called this council the senate. He made also an assembly of commons, to which he granted three powers,—the election of magistrates, the ratification of laws, and the decision of questions of war and peace. The resolutions of the assembly, however, had no force unless the senate approved them.

The most effective of all the arrangements of Romulus—the one which did most not only to maintain the freedom of Rome, but also to win for her the supremacy over other states—was the law which bade the Romans not to massacre or enslave conquered peoples or to lay waste their land, but to settle part of the conquered territory with Roman citizens, to found colonies in some conquered towns, and to give others the Roman citizenship. The kings who followed him, and still later the annual magistrates (consuls), carried out his liberal policy to such an extent that in time the Roman nation came to excel all others in population.

Romulus sent a colony of three hundred men into each city, to whom these gave a third part of their lands to be divided among them by lot; and these Cæninenses and Antemnates, who desired to remove to Rome, he conveyed thither together with their wives and children, they retaining the possession of their lands, and bringing with them all their effects. These, who were not less than three thousand, the king immediately incorporated with the tribes and the curiæ: so that the Romans had then for the first time six thousand foot in all upon the register. Thus Cænina and Antemna, no inconsiderable cities . . . after this war became Roman colonies.

Roman colonies; admission of aliens to citizenship.

Dionysius ii. 35.

The care of religion he intrusted to many persons. In no other newly built city could be found so many priests and attendants of the gods. . . . Each curia elected two men above fifty years of age, of noble birth, of good character and sufficient wealth, and of sound body, to act as priests for the remainder of their lives, exempt from military and political duties. And as it was necessary that the women and the children should have some part in performing religious rites, Romulus enacted that the wives of priests should assist their husbands in religious services, and that the women and children should attend to those ceremonies which could not lawfully be performed by men.

Religion.

Dionysius ii. 21.

Romulus gave the father absolute, lifelong power over the son, including the right to scourge him, to bind him and compel him thus to toil in the fields, or to put him to death, even if the son chanced to be engaged in public affairs, even if he were occupying high offices or were being commended for his public liberality. According to this law, illustrious men, while delivering from the rostra harangues against the senate but in favor of the people, men who for this reason were highly popular, have been dragged from

The power of the father.

Dionysius ii. 26.

Rome, p. 73.

(The consul who put his son to death for disobedience.)

Dionysius ii.
27.

the rostra by their fathers to suffer whatever punishment the latter should think right. And while these sons were led away through the market-place, no one was able to rescue them—neither the consul, nor tribune of the plebs, nor the mob whom they were flattering, and who considered its own power superior to all authority. I will not mention those whom fathers have slain, good men moved by virtue and zeal to achieve some noble deed forbidden by their parent. Such was the case with Manlius Torquatus and many others, in regard to whom I shall speak at the proper time.

The Roman legislator did not limit the father's authority at this point, but gave him permission to sell the son . . . granting to the father more power over the son than to the master over his slaves; for if a slave is sold and afterward given his liberty, henceforth he remains free, whereas if the son is sold by the father and then liberated, he falls again under the paternal power, and a second time in like manner; not till after the third sale does he become free from his father.

II. NUMA POMPILIUS

His religious institutions.

Livy i. 19.

(Argiletum, a piece of ground between the Quirinal and the Forum.)

After Numa had been made king in this way, he set about founding anew, on the principles of law and morals, the city recently established by force of arms. When he saw that the spirit of the citizens, rendered savage by military life, could not be reconciled to those principles during the continuance of wars, he concluded that his fierce nation should be softened by the disuse of arms. At the foot of Argiletum, therefore, he erected a temple of Janus as an index of peace and war; when open, it should show that the state was engaged in war, and its closing should signify that all the neighboring nations were at

peace with Rome. Twice only since the reign of Numa has this temple been closed.

He organized the people, according to their trades, in guilds of musicians, goldsmiths, builders, dyers, shoemakers, curriers, coppersmiths, and potters. All the other trades he united in one guild. He assigned to every guild its especial privileges, common to all the members, and ordained that each should have its own times of meeting and should worship its special patron god.

Next he turned his attention to the appointment of priests, though he himself performed many sacred rites, especially those which now belong to the *flamen* (priest) of Jupiter.

It is a crime for the flamen of Jupiter to ride horseback or to see the centuries under arms; for this reason he has rarely been elected consul. He is not permitted to take an oath; the ring he wears must be hollow and of open work. No fire may be carried from his house but the sacred fire. If a man enters that house bound, he must be unbound, and the bonds must be carried through the inner court up the roof and thrown into the street. The flamen has no knot about him, either on his cap, his girdle, or any other part. If a man who is about to be beaten with rods falls at his feet as a suppliant, the guilty one cannot be beaten that day without sacrilege. None but a freeman may cut a flamen's hair. He never touches or names a she-goat, raw flesh, hair, or beans. He must not clip the tendrils of the vine that climbs too high. The feet of the bed he sleeps in must be plastered with mud. He never quits it three consecutive nights, and no one else has the right to sleep therein. There must not be near the woodwork of his bed a box with sacred cakes in it. The parings of his nails and the cuttings of his hair

He organizes guilds.

Plutarch, *Numa*, 17.

He appoints priests.

Livy i. 20.

The priest of Jupiter.

Aulus Gellius x. 15 (quoted from Fabius Pictor).

Rome, 22, 28; *Ancient World*, 333 f.

are covered with earth at the foot of a fruit tree. For him all days are holy days. He is not allowed to go into the open air without the *apex* (conical cap); and even as to remaining bareheaded under his own roof, the pontiffs have only quite recently decided that he may do so.

The Vestal virgins.

Livy i. 20.

Numa also selected maidens for Vesta, to fill a priesthood derived from Alba and closely connected with the family of the founder of Rome. That they might be constant attendants in the temple, he appointed them salaries from the public treasury; and by requiring them to remain unmarried and to perform various religious rites, he made them sacred and venerable.

Plutarch,
Numa, 10.

He ordained that the Vestal virgins should continue unmarried thirty years; during the first ten years they were to learn their duties, during the next ten they were to perform them, and during the last they were to teach others. After this period any of them who wished might marry and cease to be priestesses; but it is said that very few took advantage of this privilege and that those few were not happy. By their regrets and sorrow for the life they had left, they made the others scruple to leave it and prefer to remain maidens till their death.

The worship of the dead.

Ovid, *Fasti*,
ii. 533 ff.

(The festival to the dead was celebrated on February 19. Styx, the river which bounds the world of the dead.)

Honor is paid also to the graves of the dead. Appease the spirits of your forefathers, and offer small presents to the pyres that have long been cold. The shades of the dead ask but humble offerings: affection rather than costly gifts pleases them; Styx below has no greedy divinities. Enough for them is the covering of their tomb overshadowed with the chaplets laid there, and the scattered fruits and the little grain of salt, and corn soaked in wine, and violets loosened from the stem; let these gifts be placed in a jar in the middle of the way. I do not forbid more costly offerings, but by these mentioned

the shade may be appeased. After erecting the altars, add prayers and suitable words.

But while they are celebrating these rites, remain unwedded, ye maidens; let the torch of pine wood await auspicious days. And let not the curved spear part thy virgin ringlets, thou maiden who appearest to thy impatient mother already of marriageable years. Conceal thy torches, Hymenæus, and remove them afar from these dismal fires,—the gloomy tombs have other torches than these. Let the gods, too, be concealed, with the doors of their temples closed; be the fires without incense, and let the hearths stand without fire. Abroad now wander phantom spirits, and bodies that have been committed to the tombs. Now the ghost feeds on the food left for it. . . .

The kinsfolk, full of affection, have named the next day the *Caristia*, and the company of relatives assemble at the family feast. In good truth it is a pleasant thing to turn our attention from the tombs and from our relatives who are dead, to those who survive; and after so many are lost, to see all that remains of our family, and to reckon the degrees of relationship. . . .

When the night has passed away, then let the god who by his landmark divides the fields be worshipped with the accustomed honors. Terminus, whether thou art a stone, or whether a stock sunk deep in the earth by the ancients, yet even in this form dost thou possess divinity. Thee the two owners of adjoining fields crown with chaplets from their opposite sides, and present with two garlands and two cakes. They build an altar; the peasant's wife brings in a broken pan the fire taken from the burning hearth.

An old man cuts up the firewood, and piles it high when

**"Let none
then
marry."**

(The pine torch was carried in the marriage procession. The parting of the hair with a spear was a marriage ceremony. Hymenæus was the god of marriage.)

**The
Caristia.**

**The festival
of the
corner-
stones.**

chopped, and strives hard to drive the branches into the resisting ground. While he is exciting the kindling blaze with dried bark, a boy stands by and holds in his hands a broad basket. Out of this, when the father has thrice thrown the produce of the earth into the midst of the flames, his little daughter offers the sliced honeycombs. Others have wine; a portion of each thing is thrown into the fire; the crowd, all arrayed in white, look on and keep a religious silence. Terminus is sprinkled, too, with the blood of a slain lamb; he makes no complaint when a young pig is offered him. The neighbors meet in supplication, and they celebrate the feast and sing thy praise, holy Terminus. It is thou that dost set the limits to nations, and cities, and mighty kingdoms; without thee the whole country would be steeped in litigation.

III. SERVIUS TULLIUS

The census.

He then set about a peaceful work of the utmost importance, that as Numa had been the author of religious institutions, posterity might celebrate Servius as the founder of all distinctions among the members of the state, and of those classes which are based on dignity and fortune. For he instituted the census,—a most salutary measure for an empire destined to become so great. According to the census the services of war and peace were to be performed not by every person without distinction, but in proportion to his amount of property. By means of the census he formed the classes and the centuries,—an arrangement which still exists and which is eminently suited both to peace and to war.

This complex form of the census did not arise till after the institution of the censors in the early Republic; see p. 355, below.

The census classes.

Of those who had an estate worth a hundred thousand asses or more he made eighty centuries, forty of seniors and forty of juniors. All these centuries constituted the first

class. The seniors were to guard the city, the juniors to carry on war in the field. Their arms were a helmet, a round shield, greaves, and a corselet—all of bronze. This armor was for defence. Their offensive weapons were a spear and a sword. To the first class were added two centuries of mechanics, who were to serve without arms. Their duty was to convey the military engines.

The second class included all whose estates were worth from seventy-five to a hundred thousand asses. From the seniors and juniors of this class twenty centuries in all were enrolled. Their shields were oblong instead of round, and they had no corselet. With these exceptions their arms were the same as those of the first class. The property of the third class amounted to fifty thousand asses (at the lowest); the number of the centuries was the same as of the second class with the same distinction of age. Their arms, too, were the same excepting that they wore no greaves. The fourth class, including all whose property was rated at twenty-five thousand asses (at the lowest), furnished the same number of centuries; but they had no arms excepting a spear and a long javelin. The fifth class included thirty centuries, who carried slings and stones for throwing. Among them were counted three centuries of horn-blowers and trumpeters. The property of the class was rated at eleven thousand asses (at the lowest). All below this rating formed one century exempt from military service.

After dividing and arming the infantry in this way, he levied twelve centuries of knights from among the chief men of the state. And of the three centuries instituted by Romulus he made six without changing their names.¹ Ten thousand asses from the public revenue were given the

Livy i. 43.
(In the third century B.C. the *as*, a copper coin, was worth nearly two cents; in earlier times its value was greater. Probably the classification was at first based on land.)

(Livy is confused as to the numbers; cf. *Rome*, 34. 70; *Ancient World*, 341.)

The cavalry.

(In fact the number was doubled, and long afterward twelve were added; *Rome*, 34, 70.)

¹ The three original centuries were distinguished from the three afterward added by the terms "earlier" and "later."

knights for buying horses; and widows were taxed two thousand asses yearly for the support of the horses. All these burdens were taken off the poor and laid on the rich.

The assembly of the centuries
(*comitia centuriata*).

Then an additional honor was added; the right to vote was not given to all alike, according to the custom established by Romulus, and followed by succeeding kings, of granting to every man the same right; but degrees of privilege were made, so that no one might seem to be excluded from the right of voting, and yet the whole power might reside in the chief men of the state. For the knights were first called, and then the eighty centuries of the first class; and if they happened to differ, which was rarely the case, those of the second were called, and the voting seldom descended to the lowest class.

The city tribes.

(At the same time he probably divided the country, too, into tribes.)

The growing population.

Livy i. 44.

Next he divided the city into four parts according to the regions and hills then inhabited, and he called these divisions tribes, as I think from the tribute; for he introduced also the method of levying taxes according to the value of estates.

The taking of the census he hastened by the terror of a law which threatened with imprisonment and death those who did not present themselves to be rated. He then proclaimed that all the Roman citizens, horse and foot, should attend at the dawn of day in the Campus Martius, each in his century. . . . Eighty thousand citizens are said to have been rated in that survey. Fabius Pictor, the earliest of our historians, adds that such was the number of those who were able to bear arms. This multitude made necessary the enlargement of the city. Servius, accordingly, added two hills, the Quirinal and the Viminal. . . . The whole city he surrounded with an earthen rampart, a moat, and a wall.

In fact the number of men of military age at this time could hardly have exceeded nine or ten thousand; *Ancient World*, 337.

IV. THE TEMPLE OF THE CAPITOLINE JUPITER

The king undertook to build a temple to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva in performance of the vow he had made to the gods in the last battle against the Sabines. He therefore surrounded the hill, on which he proposed to place the temple, with high supporting walls in many places; for it was neither easy of access nor even, but craggy and ending in a point; hence there was great difficulty in rendering it fit for the purpose. He therefore filled up the interval between the supporting walls and the top of the hill with earth; and by levelling it, made it very fit to receive the sanctuaries. But he was prevented by death from laying the foundations of it: for he lived but four years after the end of the last war. Many years afterward, however, the Tarquin, who was the second king after him, and who was finally dethroned, laid the foundations of this structure, and built a great part of it. But even he did not complete the work, which was finished under those annual magistrates who were consuls the third year after his expulsion. It is proper to relate also the incidents that preceded the building of it, which all the writers of the local history have handed down. When Tarquinius was preparing to build the temple, he called the augurs together and ordered them first to consult the gods as to the most suitable place of all the city to be consecrated, and the most acceptable to the gods; and on their naming the hill that commands the Forum, and was then called the Tarpeian, now the Capitoline hill, he ordered them again to declare after they had consulted the gods, in which part of the hill the foundations ought to be laid; in this matter there was no small difficulty; for there were upon the hill many altars, of both gods and geniuses,

Work of the Tarquins.

Begun by the first Tarquin.

Dionysius iii. 69.

This temple was dedicated in the first year of the Republic.

Dionysius knew it only as it existed in his own time. Originally it was in Etruscan style; cf. *Ancient World*, 321.

*Ancient
World*, 329.

not far distant from one another, which were to be removed to some other place, and the whole area to be set aside for the sacred enclosure, that was proposed to be created there for the gods. The augurs thought proper to consult the gods to whom these altars were consecrated, concerning every one of them; and if they gave their consent, then to remove them; the rest of the gods, therefore, and geniuses gave them leave to remove their altars; but Terminus and Juventus, although the augurs besought them with great earnestness, and importunity, could not be prevailed on to leave their places; for which reason their altars were included within the circuit of the temple, and one of them, now, stands in the portico of the chapel of Minerva, and the other, in the chapel itself near to the statue of that goddess; from hence, the augurs concluded that no time would ever remove the boundaries of the Roman empire, or impair its vigor; and both have proved true to this age, which is now the twenty-fourth generation.

**End of the
kingship.**

Livy i. 60.
(In the
absence of
the king, the
city was
ruled by a
"prefect.")

Lucius Tarquinius, the Proud, reigned twenty-five years; the regal form of government extended from the building of the city to its deliverance, two hundred and forty-five years. Two consuls, Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus, were elected in the *comitia centuriata* under the prefect of the city, as prescribed by the commentaries of Servius Tullius.

STUDIES

1. How did the Romans found a city (cf. remark in margin)? Describe the division of the population into tribes and *curiæ*; into patricians and plebeians. Who belonged to the *curiæ*? What public rights had the clients? Describe the founding of a Roman colony. What was done with conquered aliens who wished to live at Rome? What religious regulations are ascribed to Romulus? Describe the early family.

2. What religious institutions are said to have been established by Numa? What restrictions were placed on the priest of Jupiter? How did the Romans worship the dead? What guilds are ascribed to Numa as founder?

3. What are the most important institutions assigned to Servius Tullius? Why should the Romans ascribe to him census regulations which were in fact adopted long after his time?

4. From this passage what ceremonies seem to have been necessary before building a temple? Eliminating the individual kings, who are largely mythical, write an essay on (1) the government under the kings; (2) the early Roman religion.

CHAPTER XXX

THE EARLY REPUBLIC: (I) THE PLEBEIANS WIN THEIR RIGHTS

I. THE FOUNDING OF THE REPUBLIC

The Republic, 509 B.C.

Cicero, *Republic*, ii. 30.

Ancient World, 339.

(Law of Valerius Publicola.)

The consuls.

Livy ii. 1.

Rome, 27.

AFTER the kingship had lasted more than two hundred and fifty years, Tarquin was expelled. At this time the Romans hated the name of king as much as they had once longed for the deceased—or rather the departed—Romulus. When Tarquin was banished, therefore, the monarchy came to an end.

Then Publicola had a law passed by the popular assembly that no magistrate should put to death or scourge a Roman citizen without granting him the right of appeal to the people.

But we date the beginning of liberty from this period because the consuls were *annual* magistrates, not because they had any less power than that of king. The first consuls had all the privileges and trappings of royal authority. Care was taken, however, that they might not appear doubly terrible by both having the (lictors and) fasces at the same time. With the consent of his colleague Brutus was first attended by the fasces. He had been zealous in establishing liberty, and now he was its faithful guardian. First of all he required the people; while still enraptured with their new liberty, to swear that they would never again suffer a king to rule at Rome; for he feared that they might afterward be won over or bribed by the royal family. Next, that a full list of members might give the senate more

strength, he chose into it the principal men from the class of knights so as to complete the number three hundred, which the king's murders had diminished.

Then the Romans attended to religious matters. The kings had performed a part of the public worship; and in order that their service might not be missed, a king of the sacrifices was appointed. This priestly office the Romans made subject to the chief pontiff, in order that too great honor, added to the name of king, might not endanger their liberty, now their chief care.

In that period the senate maintained the commonwealth in such a condition that, though the people were free, they had little to do with the government; for the senate managed nearly all public business by its own authority and according to its own customs and traditions, while over all, the consuls exercised a power which, though annual, was by nature and law truly royal. They earnestly enforced that rule which has done so much to maintain the power of the nobles, that the acts of the popular assembly should not be valid unless approved by the senate.

Scarcely ten years after the first consuls, Titus Lartius was appointed first dictator. This new office seemed like the royal power restored.

Immediately after receiving his authority, he appointed Spurius Cassius master of horse, for no one to this day when chosen dictator enters upon his office without a master of horse. Wishing to make a display of his power for the purpose of striking terror rather than for any real use, he bade his lictors bear through the city their axes bound in rods (fasces). This was a custom of the kings but abandoned by the consuls, for Valerius Publicola made the change in order to render the consular office less hateful to the people.

King of the sacrifices.
(*Rex sacrorum.*)

Livy ii. 2.

Rome, 29;
Ancient World, 340.

The senate and the consuls.

Cicero, *Republic*, ii. 32.

The dictator, 498 B.C.
Rome, 68.

Dionysius v. 75.

Livy ii. 18.

When the first dictator was appointed at Rome, the people, seeing the axes carried before him, were struck with awe, so that they became more submissive and more obedient to orders. Under the consuls a citizen oppressed by one could ask the aid of the other; but under the dictator there was no such means of assistance; neither was there a right of appeal or any other resource except in strict obedience.

II. THE GROWTH OF PLEBEIAN RIGHTS

**The tribunes
of the plebs.**

Livy ii. 33.

*Ancient
World*, 342.

493 B.C.

Then they began to consider a reconciliation, and among the conditions it was allowed that the plebeians should have their own magistrates, with inviolable privileges, who should have the power of bringing common people aid against the consuls, and that it should not be lawful for any of the patricians to hold this office. In this way two tribunes of the plebs were created.

Cicero, *Republic*, ii. 34.

By the institution of two tribunes to appease the sedition of the people, the power of the senate was lessened. Still it remained dignified and august, for it was still composed of the wisest and bravest men, who protected their country in peace and in war. Their authority was still strong because in honor they were superior to their fellow-citizens.

**The comitia
tributa in-
stituted,**
471 B.C.

Dionysius
ix. 41.

The author
of this law
was Publil-
ius Volero;
*Ancient
World*, 343.

This man, therefore, as soon as he was at liberty to perform the functions of his office, . . . assembled the people, and proposed a law concerning the election of the tribunes, by which that election was to be transferred from the assemblies of the curiæ, called by the Romans Comitia Curiata, to the assemblies of the tribes. The difference between them is this: in order to render valid the resolutions taken in the assemblies of the curiæ, it was necessary that the senate should issue a decree, and that the people, voting in their curiæ, should confirm it, and

that after both these acts the heavenly signs and auspices should not oppose it: whereas in the assemblies of the tribes neither the previous decree of the senate was necessary, nor the ratification of the holy rites and auspices, but only that the resolutions there taken should be finally determined by the members of the tribes in one day.

III. LAWS OF THE TWELVE TABLES

Let the master of a funeral make use of a public officer and lictors. Let it be lawful for him to use three mantles in a funeral, a purple fillet for the head, and ten flute-players. Let him do no more than this.

Funerals.

*Ancient
World, 344 f.*

Let none pour wine mixed with precious ointment into dead bodies.

Let none make more than one funeral for one person, or carry more than one bier in the funeral procession.

Let none make use of gold in funerals. But if the teeth of the deceased are fastened with gold, let none be prosecuted for burying or burning the deceased with that gold.

Let not women scratch their faces or tear their cheeks or raise lamentations on account of a funeral.

Let the praises of honored men be repeated in a gathering of the people; and let songs of mourning, accompanied with a flute, attend these praises.

Let the father have power over the life and death of his son. Let it be lawful to sell the son as a slave three times. If the father shall sell the son three times, let the son be free from his father.

**The family
and prop-
erty.**

Let there be a space of two and a half feet round the outer wall of every house.

Let an oath be of the greatest force to insure credit.

Let no man take more interest for money than one per

cent a month. If he shall do otherwise, let him be fined four times that sum.

Crimes.

If a judge or arbitrator appointed by law shall take money for a judgment to be given, let the crime be capital.

If any one breaks the limb of another and makes no reparation, let retaliation take place.

Rome, 86.

Whoever shall maliciously burn another's house, let him be bound and whipped at the discretion of the prætor, and burned. But if the mischief is accidental, let him, at the discretion of the prætor, repair the damage or be punished for it by being whipped.

If any one shall publish slander or write verses to the defamation of another, let the offence be capital. If any shall assemble in the city privately at night, let the offence be capital.

Let there be no intermarriage between patricians and plebeians.

Debtors.

Let thirty days' grace be granted after a debt has been confessed and judgment given. Then let the debtor be seized. Let the creditor bring him before the court. If he does not obey the summons, or is not bailed by any one, let the creditor take him away and bind him with a thong or with fetters weighing no more than fifteen pounds, or if he will, less. If the debtor pleases, let him maintain himself. If he does not maintain himself, let the one who keeps him in bonds give him a pound of spelt every day; if he thinks fit, more. Meantime let there be an agreement. If the debtor does not agree with his creditor, let the latter keep him in bonds sixty days. In this period let the creditor cite him to court three market-days in succession, and let him proclaim the sum at which the costs are laid. Then let the creditor put him to death; or if he pleases, sell him

as a slave in a foreign country beyond the Tiber. But if the debtor is assigned to many creditors, let them on the third market-day cut his body into several pieces. If they cut more or less, let it bring no damage to themselves.

IV. FURTHER GROWTH OF PLEBEIAN RIGHTS

a. *The Valerian-Horatian Laws*

After the subversion of the decemvirate, the first persons who were invested with the consular dignity by the people in an assembly of the centuries, were, as I said, Lucius Valerius Potitus and Marcus Horatius Barbatus. These magistrates, who were themselves of a popular disposition and had inherited these principles from their ancestors, adhered to the promises they had made to the plebeians, when they persuaded them to lay down their arms. Avowing that, in their administration, they would consult nothing but the interest of the people, they enacted several laws in the assembly of centuries,—while the patricians were dissatisfied but ashamed to oppose them,—some laws which I need not record, and particularly that which ordains that the laws passed by the people in their assemblies by tribes should bind all the Romans without distinction, and have the same force with those which should be passed in the assemblies by centuries. The punishments appointed against such as should abrogate or transgress this law, if convicted thereof, were death and the confiscation of their fortunes. . . . It was stated above that in the assemblies by tribes the plebeians and the poorer sort were superior to the patricians; but in the assembly by centuries, the patricians, though far less numerous, were superior to the plebeians.

Power of the tribal assembly enlarged, 449 B.C.

Dionysius xi. 45.

Ancient World, 345.

This statement suffices to correct a modern error that the assembly of tribes here mentioned did not contain patricians.

b. *The Canuleian Law*

Proposal of
Canuleius,
445 B.C.

Livy iv. 1.

**Aristocratic
feeling.**

Ib. 2.

These selec-
tions up to
and includ-
ing the
Ogulnian law
have been
translated
by Dr. E. G.
Sihler.

*Ancient
World*, 346.

**Plebeian
feeling.**

Livy iv. 4. 6.

At the beginning of the year the tribune of the people C. Canuleius made public a bill concerning the right of intermarriage [*conubium*] of the senatorial class (*patres*) and the plebeians, by which the senatorial class felt that their blood was stained and the rights of the old families were perverted.

[Appeal of the aristocracy]: They should remember what eminence the senate itself had received from the Fathers, what eminence they intended to hand down to their children, so that they too, like the plebeians, could boast that it was more enlarged and imposing. . . . What and how great things had C. Canuleius undertaken? He was proposing a rude mixture of families, a perversion of public and private auspices, to the end that there be nothing pure and unstained, so that with the removal of all distinction no one could know either himself or his own. For what other force could mixed marriages have, but that almost in the fashion of irrational beasts the mating of plebeians and patricians be indiscriminately brought about? So that the offspring (of such alliances) shall not know of what blood or of what religion he is. One half would be of senatorial rank, one half of plebeian, not even itself in harmony with itself. . . .

Or can there be any greater or more marked disgrace, than that a part of the citizen body as though polluted should be held unworthy of the right of intermarriage? . . .

The plebeians on this issue were particularly enraged, because it was claimed that they could not secure auspices, as though they were hateful to the immortal gods, nor was there an end of the struggles—since the plebeians had got as its leader a most insistent tribune and since the ple-

beians themselves vied with him in persistence until the Fathers, at last overcome, yielded that a legislative vote should be had concerning the right of intermarriage. . . .

c. The Military Tribunes with Consular Power

When Canuleius, through his victory over the Fathers and through his popularity with the plebeians, became a man of towering stature, other tribunes in hot enthusiasm to enter upon a struggle for their own bill made a contest with all their might, and while the rumor of war was growing day by day they prevented the enrollment of troops. The consuls, since nothing could be done through the senate, as the tribunes interfered, held meetings of the leading men at home. It was clear that they would either have to yield victory to the enemy or to citizens. Of the retired consuls, Valerius and Horatius took no share in the deliberations. The motion of C. Claudius proposed to arm the consuls against the tribunes; the motions of the Quinctii, of Cincinnatus, and Capitolinus would have nothing to do with slaughter and with violently treating the officers (tribunes) whom, after concluding a treaty with the plebeians, they had accepted to be inviolable in person. Through these conferences the issue was brought to that point that they permitted military tribunes with consular power to be chosen indiscriminately from patricians and plebeians. As to the election of consuls no change was to be made; and therewith both tribunes and plebs were contented.

d. The Censors

In the year in which Marcus Geganius Macerinus was consul a second time and Titus Quinctius Capitolinus a fifth time, the censorship was instituted. Though of

The creation of this office resulted directly from the victory of Canuleius.

Livy iv. 6.

Ancient World, 346.

A method of political warfare adopted by the plebeians was to refuse to enlist till their grievances were righted.

We have here, too, an example of a secret caucus.

Growth of the office, 443 B.C.
Livy iv. 8.

humble origin, it grew in importance till it came to regulate the morals and discipline of Rome, to revise the list of the senators and knights, to mark the citizens with honor or disgrace, and to control the revenues of the state. The Romans instituted the office because the census and assessment of citizens had not been taken for several years. This work could no longer be deferred, and the consuls had no leisure to attend to it while wars with so many states were impending.

**Supervision
of the farmers
and the
knights.**

Aulus Gellius
iv. 12.

If any one permitted his land to run to waste, and did not plow or keep it in order, or if any one had neglected his trees or vineyard, it was not with impunity; the matter fell within the censor's authority and the censors degraded him. Also if any Roman knight had a horse in poor condition or unseemly to look on, he was fined for lack of proper grooming, which is the same as if you were to say want of care. There are good authorities for both these circumstances, and M. Cato has frequently attested them.

e. The Licinian Laws

**The authors
were Li-
cinius and
Sextius,
367 B.C.**

Livy vi. 35,
42.

This para-
graph gives
the policy of
the tribunes.

The outward cause of political innovations, it seems, was the huge amount of debt, for which trouble the plebeians could hope for no relief unless men of their own class were placed in the highest governmental position. It was necessary earnestly to think about it. By tentative efforts and working the plebeians, they said, had reached that point of advancement whence if they strove further, they might be able to reach the highest things and be placed on a level with the senatorial class in honor as well as in merit. For the present it was determined to have tribunes of the people chosen, in which office they might find a way for themselves to the other honors of state.

And C. Licinius and L. Sextius were elected tribunes

and then published bills, all of which were antagonistic to the power of the patricians and in the interest of the plebs, one concerning debt, viz. that, subtracting from the principal what had been paid by way of interest, what remained was to be paid within three years in equal instalments; the other concerning the limit of lands, that no one should enter on more than fifty acres of (public) land; the third that no elections be held of military tribune [with consular power] and that under all circumstances one of the two consuls should be chosen from the plebs—all matters of towering importance,—which could not be maintained without the greatest effort. When therefore a critical struggle was impending, involving at one and the same time all things for which an unlimited desire prevails among men, to wit, land, money, and office of state,—the senators thoroughly frightened and in a flutter of irresolution, found in public and private conferences no remedy but intercession, which had been tested in many prior struggles. They set up some of the colleagues (in the tribunate) against the bills of the tribunes. When they saw that the people were being summoned by Licinius and Sextius to begin the voting, they surrounded themselves with a bodyguard of senators and they would not suffer the bills to be read aloud nor any other customary form to be gone through toward having the people pass any resolution. And now having often called in vain a meeting, and seeing the bills as good as defeated, Sextius said: "Very well, since it is decided that intercession shall count for so much, we will protect the plebs with that very weapon. Come, ye senators, announce an election for choosing military tribunes, I will see to it that no help come from that term veto ("I forbid"), which with such satisfaction you now hear our colleagues harmoniously utter." The threats were

The proposals.

not uttered in vain: no elections were held except those of ædiles and tribunes of the people. Licinius and Sextius were reëlected as tribunes of the people and suffered no curule magistrate to be chosen: and this desolation—the plebs reëlecting the two tribunes and they doing away with elections of military tribunes—prevailed in the city for five years. Finally after great struggles the dictator and the senate were overpowered, so that the measures of the tribunes were admitted. The elections of the consuls were held in spite of the resistance of the nobility, at which Lucius Sextius was made consul, the first of plebeian rank.

f. *The Ogulnian Law*

To admit plebeians to the augural and pontifical colleges, 300 B.C.

Livy x. 6.

The law in fact increased the number of augurs and pontiffs to nine each, and provided that four augurs and five pontiffs should be plebeian; Botsford, *Roman Assemblies*, 309.

A struggle arose among the leading men of the state, patricians and plebeians, a struggle stirred up by the tribunes of the people Q. and Cn. Ogulnius, who everywhere saw opportunities to make charges against the senatorial class before the plebeians. After trying other things in vain, they undertook to inflame not the lowest plebs, but the very heads of the plebs, retired consuls and triumphatores, to whose honors nothing was lacking but the priestly offices, which were not yet promiscuously bestowed. Therefore they published a bill to this effect: "Whereas there are four augurs and four pontiffes at this time, it is resolved to have the number of priests enlarged, and four pontiffes and five augurs shall be chosen in addition from the plebeians."

g. *The Hortensian Law*

The struggle which led to it.

Dio Cassius, *Frag.* 37.

When the tribunes moved an annulment of debts, the law was often proposed without avail, since the leaders were by no means willing to accept it and the tribunes granted the nobles the choice of either putting this law to

vote or following that of Stolo, by which they were to reckon the previous interest toward the principal and receive the remainder in triennial payments. For the time being the weaker party, dreading lest it might lose all, paid court to them, and the wealthier class, encouraged to think it would not be compelled to adopt either course, maintained a hostile attitude. But when the revolted party proceeded to press matters somewhat, both sides changed their positions. The debtors were no longer satisfied with either plan, and the nobles thought themselves lucky if they should not be deprived of their principal. Hence the dispute was not decided immediately, but afterward they prolonged their rivalry in a spirit of contentiousness, and did not act at all in their usual character. Finally the people made peace in spite of the fact that the nobles were unwilling to remit much more than they had originally expected; however, the more they beheld their creditors yielding, the more they were emboldened, as if they were successful by a kind of right; and consequently they regarded the various concessions almost as matters of course and strove for yet more, using as a stepping-stone to that end the fact that they had already obtained something.

After great and long-continued seditions due to debts the plebs seceded to the Janiculum, whence they were brought back by Quintus Hortensius as dictator.

After the secession of the plebs to the Janiculum, Q. Hortensius dictator moved and carried a law in the Æsculetum that whatever the plebs ordered should be binding on all the citizens.

Formerly the patricians maintained that they were not bound by plebiscites, as the latter were passed without their authorization; but afterward the Hortensian statute

Licinius
Stolo;
p. 356 f.
above.

Livy,
Epitome, xi.

The law,
287 B.C.
Pliny, *Natural History*,
xvi. 10, 37.
Gaius i. 3.
A plebiscite
was a law
proposed by
a tribune to
a tribal as-
sembly.

was enacted, which provided that plebiscites should be binding on the whole people; and in this way they were made equal to statutes.

STUDIES

1. Describe the government of the early Republic. Compare it with the government under the kings.

2. Show how the *comitia tributa* differed from the other popular assemblies.

3. From the laws of the Twelve Tables what may we infer regarding (1) funeral customs, (2) the family, (3) honesty in business, (4) the condition of the poor, (5) the general character of the Romans of the time?

4. a. How did the laws of Valerius and Horatius affect the tribal assembly? b. What was the feeling of the aristocracy and the plebs respectively as to the question of intermarriage? c. What led to the institution of military tribunes with consular power? d. What were the functions of the censors, and why were they instituted? e. What appeal did Licinius and Sextius make to the people? How did they bring about the enactment of their bill? f. What was the Ogulnian law? g. Describe the conflict which led to the enactment of the Hortensian law. What were its terms? From the entire chapter write an account of the methods of political warfare adopted by the opposing parties.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE EARLY REPUBLIC: (II) ROME BECOMES SUPREME IN ITALY

I. TREATY WITH CARTHAGE AND WITH THE LATINS

THE first treaty between Rome and Carthage was made in the year of Lucius Junius Brutus and Marcus Horatius, the first consuls elected after the expulsion of the kings. Of this treaty I append a translation as accurate as I could make it, for the fact is that the ancient language differs so much from that at present in use that the best scholars among the Romans themselves have great difficulty in interpreting some points in the document.

“Between the Romans and their allies, and the Carthaginians and their allies, there shall be peace and alliance upon the following terms:—

“Neither the Romans nor their allies shall sail beyond the Fair Promontory, unless driven by bad weather or by an enemy. And in case any one of them be driven ashore, he shall not buy or take aught for himself save what is needful for the repair of his ship and the service of the gods, and he shall depart within five days.

“Merchants landing for traffic in Sardinia or in Libya shall strike no bargain except in the presence of a herald or a town clerk; and the credit of the state shall be a security to the merchant for whatever he shall sell in the presence of this officer.

“If any Roman lands in the Carthaginian province in Sicily, he shall enjoy all the rights enjoyed by others.

**First treaty
between
Rome and
Carthage,
509 B.C.**

Polybius iii.
22.

Rome, 39.

(The early date of this treaty has been questioned, yet without sufficient grounds. Fair Promontory is on the northern coast of Africa, near Carthage.)

"The Carthaginians, on the other hand, shall do no injury to the people of Antium, Laurentum, Circeii, Taracina, or any other people of the Latins who are subject to Rome. Nor shall they possess themselves of any town of the Latins which is not subject to Rome. If they take one of these towns, they shall deliver it unharmed to the Romans.

"The Carthaginians shall build no fort in Latium; and if they land an armed force there, they shall depart before night."

[A few years afterward the Romans concluded with the Latins the following treaty:]

Treaty
between
Rome and
the Latins,
493 B.C.

"Let there be peace between the Romans and all the Latin cities as long as heaven and earth shall remain in their present position.

"Let them neither make war upon one another themselves, nor bring in foreign enemies, nor grant a safe passage to those who shall make war upon either.

Dionysius
vi. 5.

"Let them with all their forces assist one another when attacked by enemies, and let both have equal shares of the spoils and booty taken in their common wars.

*Ancient
World*, 352.

"Let suits relating to private contracts be determined in ten days among that people among whom the contract was made.

"Let nothing be added to, or taken from, these treaties except by the joint consent of the Romans and all the Latins."

II. SACK OF ROME BY THE GAULS

The battle
of the Allia,
390 B.C.

Plutarch,
Camillus, 13.

Every Roman believes that the prayers of Camillus were quickly heard by Jupiter, and that a terrible retribution was exacted for his wrongs. (For it was while he was in exile that the Gauls came.)

The Romans marched about eleven miles from the city, and halted for the night on the banks of the Allia, a stream which joins the Tiber not far from where their camp was pitched. Here in an unskilful battle the want of discipline caused the ruin of the Romans. The Gauls drove the left wing into the river and destroyed it, but the right, which took refuge in the hills to avoid the enemy's charge on level ground, suffered less, and most of this division safely reached the city. Of the rest, those who survived after the enemy were weary with slaughter took refuge at Veii, imagining that all was over with Rome. *Ib.* 18.

On the third day after the battle Brennus (the Gallic chief) came at the head of his army to attack the city. Seeing the gates open and no guards on the walls, he at first feared some ambuscade, as he could not believe that the Romans had so utterly despaired of themselves. When he discovered the truth, he marched through the Colline Gate, and captured Rome a little more than three hundred and sixty years after its foundation, if we can believe that any accurate record has been kept of those earlier periods.

The Gauls sack Rome.

Plutarch, *Camillus*, 22.

Ancient World, 354 f.

(First the barbarians plundered and burned the city, while the Romans held only the Capitoline Mount.) Encouraged by their chief, the Gauls eagerly volunteered an assault on the Capitol. About midnight many of them climbed silently up the rock, which although rough and precipitous was easier of ascent than they had imagined; so that the first of them reached the top, and were on the point of attacking the rampart and its sleeping garrison, for neither men nor dogs noticed them.

The siege of the Capitol.

Plutarch, *Camillus*, 27.

But there were sacred geese kept in the temple of Juno, which in other times were fed without stint, but which then, as there was scarcely food enough for the men, were somewhat neglected. These birds are naturally quick of hearing

and timid; and now rendered wakeful and wild by hunger, they quickly perceived the Gauls climbing up, and rushing noisily to the place, awoke the garrison.

The Gauls, feeling that they were discovered, no longer preserved silence, but violently assaulted the place. The Romans snatched whatever arms came first to hand and ran to repel them. First of all Manlius, a man of consular rank, strong of body and full of courage, fell in with two of the enemy. As one of them lifted up his battle-axe, Manlius cut off the right hand with his sword, while he dashed his shield into another's face and threw him backward down the cliff. Then he stood upon the wall, and with the help of those who gathered round him, beat off the rest, for not many had reached the top or effected anything equal to the boldness of the attempt. After thus escaping the danger, the Romans threw their sentinel down the rock, whereas on Manlius they conferred by vote a reward for his bravery.

"Woe to
the van-
quished!"

Plutarch,
Camillus, 28.

(Afterward the Romans on the Capitoline Mount came to terms with the enemy.) Brennus, the Gallic chief, and Sulpicius, a Roman leader of the commons, met, and it was agreed that the Romans should pay a thousand pounds of gold, and that on receiving it, the Gauls should at once leave the country. Both parties swore to observe these conditions; but while the gold was being weighed, the Gauls at first stealthily tampered with the scales and then openly pulled the beam, so that the Romans became angry. Thereupon Brennus insolently took off his sword and belt and threw them into the scale; and when Sulpicius asked, "What is this?" he replied, "Woe to the vanquished!"

Camillus
comes to the
rescue.

Plutarch,
Camillus, 29.

While the Romans were thus disputing with the Gauls and with one another, Camillus with his army was at the gates. Learning what was going on within, he ordered the

mass of his soldiers to follow him quietly and in good order, while he pushed on with the picked troops to join the Romans, who all made way for him and received him as their dictator with silence and respect. He then took the gold from the scales and gave it to his lictors, and ordered the Gauls to take the scales and the beam and depart; "for it is the custom of the Romans," he said, "to defend their country not with gold but with iron."

*Rome, 27;
Ancient
World, 355.*

In this way Rome was strangely taken and yet more strangely rescued, after the Gauls had held it more than ten months.

*Plutarch,
Camillus, 30.*

III. PYRRHUS

He was indeed a soldier worthy to command soldiers, the only king of the age in whom could be traced any likeness to the great Alexander. By the fire and the energy of his movements in the field of battle, Pyrrhus revived the image of that hero; other kings mimicked him only in their behavior and in the trappings and state of royalty. We can form an opinion of his knowledge and skill in military affairs from the writings which he has left on these subjects. It is said, too, that Antigonos when asked who was the greatest general answered, "Pyrrhus, if he lives to be old," for he was speaking of the generals of his time only. Hannibal, however, considered Pyrrhus to have been the best general that ever lived for skill and resource, placing Scipio next and himself third, as is written in the life of Scipio.

*Plutarch,
Pyrrhus, 8.*

*Greece, 318;
Ancient
World, 359 f.*

In fact Pyrrhus devoted the whole of his intellect to the art of war; for he regarded it as the only study fit for a king, and held all other occupations frivolous. . . .

As he desired some new adventures, he embraced the following opportunity. Rome was at war with the Taren-

281-272
B.C.

Plutarch,
Pyrrhus, 13.

tines; and as they were not strong enough to carry on the contest, and yet were not allowed by the audacious folly of their mob orators to make peace, they proposed to choose Pyrrhus leader and to invite him to be their ally in the war, for he was then more at leisure than any of the other kings and also was the best general of all. . . .

Thus they voted for war and sent ambassadors to Epirus, not from Tarentum alone but from the other Greek cities in Italy. These delegates carried presents to Pyrrhus and were instructed to tell him that they required a leader of skill and renown, and that they possessed a force of Lucanians, Messapians, Samnites, and Tarentines which amounted to twenty thousand cavalry and three hundred and fifty thousand infantry. This information not only excited Pyrrhus, but made all the Epirots eager to take part in the campaign.

He disciplines the
Tarentines.

Plutarch,
Pyrrhus, 16.

When Pyrrhus arrived at Tarentum, he did nothing to displease the people till his fleet reached the coast and he had gathered the greater part of his army. Then as he saw that the populace, unless ruled by a strong hand, could help neither him nor themselves, but intended to stay idling about their baths and entertainments at home while he fought their battles, he closed the gymnasia and the public walks, in which the people were wont to waste their time in empty talk about the war. He forbade all drinking, feasting, and unreasonable revels, and forced the people to take arms. In carrying out this order he showed himself inexorable to every one who was on the muster-roll of able-bodied citizens. This conduct made him greatly disliked, and many of the Tarentines left the city in disgust; for they were so unused to discipline that inability to pass their lives as they chose they considered to be no better than slavery.

(When Pyrrhus heard that the Roman army had come into Lucania to oppose him, he marched forth to meet it at Heraclea.) Learning that the Romans were near, and were encamping on the farther side of the river Siris, he rode down to the river to view them. When he saw their even ranks, their orderly movements, and their well-arranged camp, he was surprised, and said to the nearest of his friends, "These barbarians, Megacles, have nothing barbarian in their military discipline, but we shall soon learn what they can do."

The battle of
Heraclea,
280 B.C.

He began already to feel some uncertainty as to the issue of the campaign, and determined to wait till his allies came up, and until then to watch the movements of the Romans and prevent their crossing the river. As they perceived his object, however, they quickly crossed the river, the infantry at a ford, the cavalry at many points at once, so that the Greeks, fearing that they might be surrounded, drew back.

Perceiving the movement, Pyrrhus ordered his officers instantly to form the troops in order of battle and wait under arms while he himself charged with the cavalry, three thousand strong, for he hoped to catch the Romans in the act of crossing the river and consequently in disorder. When he saw many shields of the Roman infantry appearing over the river bank and their horsemen all ranged in order, he closed up his own ranks and charged them. He himself took the lead, a conspicuous figure in his beautiful glittering armor, and he proved by his exploits that he deserved his high reputation; for though he fought personally and engaged in combat with the enemy, he continually watched the whole battle, and handled his troops with as much facility as though he were not in the thick of the fight, appearing always where his presence was most

**The
embassy of
Cineas.**Plutarch,
Pyrrhus, 14.*Greece*, 220;
*Ancient
World*, 241.

needed and reënforcing those who seemed likely to give way. (Pyrrhus won a hard-fought battle.)

There was a certain Cineas, a Thessalian, who was considered a man of good judgment, and who having heard Demosthenes the orator speak, was better able than any of the speakers of his age to delight his hearers with an imitation of the eloquence of that great master of rhetoric. He was now in the service of Pyrrhus, and being sent about to various cities, proved true the proverb of Euripides that—

All can be done by words
Which foemen wish to do with conquering swords.

Plutarch,
Pyrrhus, 18.

Pyrrhus used to say that more cities were won for him by Cineas with words than he himself won by force of arms. . . . (Wishing to make peace with Rome,) Pyrrhus sent Cineas as ambassador to conduct the negotiations. He conversed with the leading men of Rome and offered their wives and children presents from the king. No one, however, would accept the gifts, but all, men and women alike, replied that if peace were publicly made with the king, they would then have no objection to regarding him as a friend. And when Cineas spoke before the senate in a winning and persuasive manner, he could make no impression upon his audience. . . . The common people, however, were evidently eager for peace, because they had been defeated in one great battle, and expected that they would have to fight another,—against a larger force, because the Italian states would join Pyrrhus.

**Appius
Claudius
Cæcus.**Plutarch,
Pyrrhus, 18 f.

At this crisis Appius Claudius (Cæcus), an illustrious man, who had long been prevented by old age and blindness from taking an active part in politics, hearing of the proposals of Pyrrhus and learning that the question of peace or war was about to be voted upon in the senate,

could no longer endure to stay at home, but caused his sons to carry him in a litter through the Forum to the senate-house. When he reached the doors of the senate-house, his sons and his sons-in-law supported him and guided him as he entered, while all the assembly observed a respectful silence.

(He then spoke against the proposal to treat with Pyrrhus while this Epirot king remained in the peninsula. *Italy for the Italians* was the new principle which he set forth. In conclusion he said,) "Do not imagine that you will rid yourselves of this man by making a treaty with him. Rather you will encourage other Greek princes to invade you, for they will despise you and think you an easy prey to all men, if you let Pyrrhus go home again without paying the penalty for his outrages upon you, nay with the power to boast that he has made Rome a laughing-stock for Tarentines and Samnites!"

(Compare the "Monroe doctrine.")

By his words Appius roused a warlike spirit in the Romans, and they dismissed Cineas with the answer that if Pyrrhus would leave Italy, they would if he wished discuss the question of alliance with him, but that while he remained in arms in their country, the Romans would fight him to the death. . . .

After spending six years of constant fighting in Italy and Sicily, Pyrrhus failed. During this time he lost a great part of his force, but always, even in his defeats, kept his reputation for invincible bravery. In warlike skill and personal strength and daring he was thought to be by far the first prince of his age. Yet he always threw away the advantages which he had gained, to follow some chimerical scheme of further conquest. He was unable to take proper measures for the present because of his eagerness for the future.

The failure of Pyrrhus.

Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 26.

STUDIES

1. What were the provisions of the first treaty between Rome and Carthage? From this treaty what may we infer as to the relations between these states? as to their comparative power? What were the provisions of the treaty between Rome and Latium? Does the treaty represent the two powers as equal?

2. Give an account of the Gallic invasion and of the sack of Rome.

3. Write a biography of Pyrrhus, and describe his character. As a man and a general how does he compare with the most famous Romans? What was the character of the Tarentines? What were the leading traits in the character of Appius Claudius? How does his policy resemble our "Monroe doctrine"? 45

CHAPTER XXXII

ROMAN ORGANIZATION; PROGRESS IN CULTURE

I. MUNICIPIA AND COLONIES

THE words *municipes* and *municipia* are very easily and very commonly uttered, and you never meet with a man who uses them but he supposes that he clearly knows their meaning. Yet in truth one thing is meant and another expressed; for how many of us are there who, coming from any Roman colony, do not call ourselves *municipes*, and our countrymen *municipes*, which is very far from reason and the truth. So we are in the same manner ignorant of what and how great a difference there is between *municipia* and *coloniæ*; and we are apt to suppose that colonies are more privileged than municipal towns. . . . The *municipes* in fact are persons who from the municipal towns are, in right of their municipality, Roman citizens, governed by their own laws, and partakers of only privileges and offices with the Roman people. They appear to be so-called *a munere capessendo* ("from taking honors"); and they are bound by no compulsion or law of the Romans, except that they had placed themselves under the power of the latter.

The *Cærites*, we learn, were the first who were made a municipal body without the power of voting; they were permitted the honor of being called Roman citizens, but were exonerated from offices and burdens, on account of their having recovered and protected sacred things in the Gallic war; hence those were called "Lists of the *Cærites*,"

Municipia and colonies distinguished.

Gellius xvi. 13.

Ancient World, 361 f.

Municipes without the right to vote.

The position was in fact one of inferiority, not of honor.

Colonies.

upon which the censors ordered the names of those to be inscribed whom they deprived of their vote. But colonies stand in another relationship; they do not enter into the franchise from without, nor do they claim it by their origin, but they are, as it were, the offspring of the state, and are of necessity subject to the laws and institutes of the Romans; which condition, though it be more exposed and less free, is yet deemed more desirable and respectable, on account of the amplitude and majesty of the Roman people.

Definitions of Municipia.

Festus 127.

A municipium is defined as that class of men, who when they came to Rome, were not Roman citizens but participated with the Roman citizens in everything connected with the performance of duties, with the exception of voting and holding office; such as were the people of Fundi, Formiæ, Cumæ, Acerræ, Lanuvium, and Tusculum, who after some years were made Roman citizens. A second definition applies the term to those whose entire state has come into the Roman citizenship, as Aricia, Cære, and Anagnia. Thirdly this class is defined as those who have entered the Roman state on condition of remaining municipes of their several states and colonies, as the people of Pisa, Urbinum, Nola, Bononia, Placentia, Nepete, Sutrium, and Luca.

Organization of Latium and Campania under Rome, 338 B.C.

Liv. viii. 14.

The principal members of the senate applauded the consul's statement of the business on the whole; but said that "as the states were differently circumstanced, the proposal might be readily adjusted so that it might be determined according to the desert of each, if they should put the question regarding each state specifically. The question was therefore so put regarding each separately and a decree passed. To the Lanuvians the right of citizenship was granted, and the exercise of their religious rights

was restored to them with this provision, that the temple and grove of Juno Sospita should be common between the Lanuvian burghers and the Roman people. The Aricians, Nomentans, and Pedans were admitted into the number of citizens on the same terms as the Lanuvians. To the Tusculans the rights of citizenship which they already possessed were continued; and the crime of rebellion was turned . . . against a few instigators. On the Veliter-nians, Roman citizens of long standing, measures of great severity were inflicted because they had so often rebelled; their walls were razed and their senate removed from thence, and they were ordered to dwell on the other side of the Tiber, so that the fine of any individual who should be caught on the hither side of that river should amount to one hundred *asses*; and that the person who had apprehended him, should not discharge his prisoner from confinement, until the money was paid down. Into the land of the senators colonists were sent; from the additions of which Velitræ recovered its appearance of former populousness.

Full Roman citizenship.

Loss of all rights.

A new colony was also sent to Antium, with this provision that if the Antians desired to be enrolled as colonists, permission to that effect should be granted. Their ships of war were removed from thence, and the people of Antium were interdicted the sea, and the rights of citizenship were granted them. The Tiburtians and Prænestines were amerced in some land, not only on account of the recent guilt of the rebellion, which was common to them with the other Latins; but also because from their dislike to the Roman government, they had formerly associated in arms with the Gauls, a nation of savages. From the other Latin states they took away the privileges of inter-marriage, commerce, and of holding meetings. To the

Antium, a colony.

Tibur and Præneste, free allies.

Full citizen-
ship again.

Campanians, in compliment to their horsemen, because they had refused to join in rebellion with the Latins, and to the Fundans and Formians, because the passage through their territories had always been secure and peaceful, the freedom of the state was granted with the right of suffrage. It was determined that the people of Cumæ and Suessula should have the same rights and be on the same footing as Capua. Of the ships of the Antians some were drawn up to the docks at Rome, some were burned, and with the prows of these the speakers' stand in the Forum was ordered to be decorated: and that temple was called Rostra.

The Rostra
were conse-
crated, hence
a temple; the
word means
"beaks."

II. THE REFORMED ARMY

Changes in
armor, arms
and organ-
ization.

Livy viii. 8.

*Ancient
World*, 365.

The target
was round;
the shield
oblong.

The Romans formerly used targets; afterward when they began to receive pay, they made shields instead of targets; and what before constituted phalanxes similar to the Macedonian, afterward became a line drawn up in distinct companies. At length they were divided into several centuries. A century contained sixty soldiers, two centurions, and one standard-bearer. The spearmen (hastati) formed the first line in fifteen companies, with small intervals between them; a company had twenty light-armed soldiers, the rest wearing shields; those were called light who carried only a spear and short iron javelins. This division, which constituted the van in the field of battle, contained the youth in early bloom advancing toward the age of service. Next followed men of more robust age, in the same number of companies, who were called principes, all wearing shields, and distinguished by the completest armor. (Behind them came the triarii.) . . .

In action.

When the army was marshalled according to this arrangement, the spearmen first commenced the fight. If

they were unable to repulse the enemy, they retreated leisurely, and were received by the principes into the intervals of the ranks. The fight then devolved on the principes; the spearmen followed. The triarii continued kneeling behind the ensigns, their left leg extended forward, holding their shields resting on their shoulders, and their spears fixed in the ground, with the points erect, so that their line bristled as if enclosed by a rampart. If the principes also did not make sufficient impression in the fight, they retreated slowly from the front to the triarii. Hence when a difficulty is felt, "Matters have come to the triarii," became a usual proverb. The triarii, rising up, after receiving the principes and spearmen into the intervals between their ranks, immediately closing their files, shut up as it were the openings; and in one compact body fell upon the enemy, no other hope being now left; that was the most formidable circumstance to the enemy, when, having pursued them as vanquished, they beheld a new line suddenly starting up, increased also in strength. In general about four legions were raised, each consisting of five thousand infantry and three hundred horse. As many more were added from the Latin levy.

III. SOME ASPECTS OF CULTURE

The next crime committed against the welfare of mankind was on the part of him who was the first to coin the denarius of gold, a crime the author of which is equally unknown. The Roman people made no use of impressed silver even before the period of the defeat of King Pyrrhus. The *as* of copper weighed exactly one pound. . . .

Silver was not impressed with a mark until the year of the city 485, the year of the consulship of Q. Ogulnius and C. Fabius, five years before the First Punic War; at that

The earliest coins.

Pliny, *Natural History*, xxxiii. 13.

269 B.C.

Ancient World, 366 f.

A denarius was worth about 20 cents. The *as*, at first about 45 cents, fell to 2 cents; Botsford, *Roman Assemblies*, 87, n. 4.

time it was ordained that the value of the denarius should be ten pounds of copper, that of the quinarius five pounds, and that of the sestertius two pounds and a half. The weight, however, of the copper "pound" was diminished during the First Punic War, the republic not having means to meet its expenditure: in consequence an ordinance was made that the *as* should in future be struck of two ounces weight. By this contrivance a saving of five-sixths was effected, and the public debt was liquidated. The impression upon those copper coins was a two faced Janus on one side, and the beak of a ship of war on the other.

The Appian Aqueduct and the Appian Way, 312 B.C.

Diodorus xx. 36.

A stade (stadium) was 600 feet.

There were two censors this year at Rome—Appius Claudius and Caius Plautius. With the concurrence of Plautius, Appius disturbed many matters of ancient wont and usage; for to gratify the people, he made no account of the senate. Also he constructed an aqueduct, named the Appian Aqueduct after himself, which brought water from regions 80 stades distant. On this he expended a great sum of money without the consent of the senate.

Then he laid a causeway of hard stones from Rome to Capua a thousand stades and upward, and levelled it at great cost. This was called the Via Appia after him. In this way he drained the treasury. But by promoting the public good, he left behind him an everlasting monument.

Early Italic painting.

Pliny, *Natural History*, xxxv. 6 f.

But already in fact had the art of painting been perfectly developed in Italy. At all events there are extant in the temples at Ardea at this day paintings of greater antiquity than Rome itself; in which in my opinion, nothing is more marvellous than that they should have remained so long unprotected by a roof, and yet preserve their freshness. At Lanuvium, too, it is the same, where

we see an Atalanta and a Helena, without drapery, close together and painted by the same artist. They are both of the greatest beauty, the former being evidently the figure of a girl, and they still remain uninjured, though the temple is in ruins. The Emperor Gaius, inflamed with greed, attempted to have them removed, but the nature of the plaster would not admit of it. There are in existence at Cære some paintings of a still higher antiquity. Whoever carefully examines them, will be forced to admit that no art has arrived more speedily at perfection, seeing that it was evidently not in existence at the time of the Trojan War.

Among the Romans, too, this art very soon rose into esteem, for it was from it that the Fabii, a most illustrious family, derived their surname of "Pictor;" indeed the first of the family who bore it himself painted the Temple of Salus, in the year of the city 450, a work which lasted to our own times, but was destroyed when the temple was burnt, in the reign of Claudius. . . .

Statues of this nature are still in existence at various places. At Rome in fact and in our municipal towns, we still see many such pediments of temples; wonderful, too, for their workmanship and from their artistic merit and long duration, more deserving of our respect than gold, and certainly far less baneful. At the present day, even in the midst of such wealth as we possess, we make our first libation at the sacrifice, not from vessels of murrhine or crystal, but from ladles made of earthenware.

Another instance of the severe discipline of this office is as follows: There was a deliberation about fining a man, who was being called by his friend before the censors. Whilst expecting their decision he yawned clearly and

Paintings of the same age and class are still preserved from Etruscan tombs; *Ancient World*, 320 f.

Temple of Salus
(Safety).

304 B.C.

Terra-cotta art.

Pliny, *Natural History*, xxxv. 46.

Very common in early Rome and Etruria.

The severe discipline of the censors.

Gellius iv. 20.

aloud; and he was about to be fined, this being considered as a proof of an indolent and careless temper, and of a rude and impertinent confidence. But when he swore that his yawning was reluctant and involuntary, and that he was afflicted with the disease termed the gapes, he was acquitted of his intended fine.

**Roman
women do
not drink
wine.**

Gellius x. 23.

The writers on the food and dress of the Romans inform us that the women of Rome and Latium lived abstemiously; that is, they abstained from wine. . . . It was appointed by law, that they should kiss their relations, that it might be discovered by their breath whether they had been drinking. But they relate that the women were accustomed to drink the second brewing, raisin wine, sweet myrrh, and other sweet beverages of that taste. And these things are published in the books I mentioned. But Marcus Cato says that women were not only censored but fined, if they had been drinking wine.

STUDIES

1. On the basis of these passages classify the municipia, and distinguish them from colonies. What was the status of each community mentioned in Livy viii. 14?
2. Describe the organization and movements of the reformed army.
3. Describe the earliest coins; the early Italic paintings. From the selections from Gellius what may we infer as to the severity of the censors? the life of women?

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE FIRST AND SECOND PUNIC WARS

I. THE STORY OF REGULUS

EARLY in the Sicilian war the Romans sent three hundred and fifty ships to Africa, captured many towns, and left in command of the army Atilius Regulus, who took about two hundred more towns, which gave themselves up to him on account of their hatred of the Carthaginians. Continually advancing, the Roman general ravaged the country. Thereupon the Carthaginians, considering their misfortune due to bad generalship, asked the Lacedæmonians to send them a commander.

Regulus in Africa.

Appian,
Punic Wars, 3.
(For the events leading up to this invasion, see *Rome*, 99; *Ancient World*, 370-3.

They sent Xanthippus. Regulus, encamped in the hot season by the side of a lake, marched round it to engage the enemy. His soldiers were suffering greatly from the weight of their arms, from dust, thirst, and fatigue, and were exposed to missiles from the neighboring hills. Toward evening he came to a river which separated the two armies. This he crossed at once, for he thought in this way to terrify Xanthippus; but the Lacedæmonian, anticipating an easy victory over an enemy thus harassed and exhausted, took advantage of the night to draw up his forces and make a sudden sally from the camp. The expectation of Xanthippus was not disappointed. Of the thirty thousand men led by Regulus, a few only escaped with difficulty to the city of Aspis. All the rest were either killed or taken prisoners; and among the captives was the consul Regulus himself.

The
embassy of
Regulus.

Appian,
*Punic
Wars*, 4.

Not long afterward the Carthaginians, weary with fighting, sent him in company with other ambassadors to Rome to obtain peace, or to return if it were not granted. But Regulus in private strongly urged the chief magistrates of Rome to continue the war, and then went back to certain torture; for the Carthaginians shut him up in a cage full of spikes and in this way put him to death.

II. HAMILCAR BARCA

**Hamilcar
Barca** (the
Lightning).

Polybius i.
56.
(For the
places here
mentioned,
see map,
Rome, 1;
*Ancient
World*, 313.)

In the eighteenth year of the war the Carthaginians appointed Hamilcar Barca general, and put the management of the fleet in his hands. He took over the command and began to ravage the Italian coast. After devastating the district of Locri and the rest of Bruttium, he sailed away with his whole fleet to the coast of Panormus and seized a place called Ercte, which lies between Eryx and Panormus on the coast, and is reputed the best situation in the district for a safe and permanent camp. For it is a mountain rising sheer on every side, standing out above the surrounding country to a considerable height. The tableland on its summit has a circumference of not less than a hundred stades, within which the soil is rich in pasture and suitable for agriculture. The sea breezes render it healthful, and it is entirely free from dangerous animals.

On the side which looks toward the sea, as well as that which faces the interior of the island, it is enclosed by inaccessible precipices; while the spaces between these parts require only slight fortifications, and of no great extent, to make them secure. On it is an eminence which serves at once as an acropolis and as a convenient tower of observation, commanding the surrounding district. It is also sup-

plied with a harbor, conveniently situated for the passage from Drepana and Lilybæum to Italy, in which is always an abundant depth of water. Finally the height can be reached by three ways only—two from the land side and one from the sea, and all of them difficult.

Here Hamilcar intrenched himself. It was a bold measure; but he had no city which he could count upon as friendly, and no other hope on which he could rely; and though by so doing he placed himself in the very midst of the enemy, he nevertheless managed to involve the Romans in many struggles and dangers. To begin with, he would start from this place and ravage the seaboard of Italy as far as Cumæ; and again on shore, when the Romans had pitched a camp to overawe him, in front of the city of Panormus within about five stades of him, he harassed them in every way, and forced them to engage in numerous skirmishes for the space of nearly three years. Of these combats it is impossible to give a detailed account in writing.

Presently however Fortune, acting like a good umpire in the games, transferred him by a bold stroke from the locality just described and from the contest in which he was engaged, to a struggle of greater danger and to a locality of narrower dimensions. The Romans were occupying the summit of Eryx, and had a guard stationed at its foot. But Hamilcar managed to seize the town which lay between these two spots.

There ensued a siege by the Romans who were on the summit, supported by them with extraordinary hardihood and adventurous daring. The Carthaginians found themselves between two hostile armies, and their supplies brought to them with difficulty because they communicated with the sea at only one point and by one road; yet

His wonderful deeds.

On the slope of Mount Eryx.

Polybius i. 58.

382 The First and Second Punic Wars

they held out with a determination that passes belief. Every contrivance which skill or force could sustain did they put in use against each other, as before; every imaginable privation was submitted to; surprises and pitched battles were alike tried; and finally they left the combat a drawn one . . . like men still unbroken and unconquered. . . . The two nations engaged were like well-bred game-cocks which fight to their last gasp. You may see them often, when too weak to use their wings, yet full of pluck to the end, and striking again and again. Finally chance brings them the opportunity of once more grappling, and they hold on till one or the other of them drops dead.

241 B.C.

(At last the Romans destroyed the Carthaginian fleet, whereupon Hamilcar, from his post on Mount Eryx, came to terms of peace with the enemy. Immediately a war broke out between Carthage and her unpaid mercenaries. By crushing the mutineers, Hamilcar brought this mercenary war, or "Libyan war," to an end.)

**Hamilcar
goes to
Spain.**

Polybius ii. 1.

As soon as they had brought the Libyan War to a conclusion, the Carthaginians collected an army and despatched it under the command of Hamilcar to Iberia (Spain). This general took over the command of the troops, and with his son Hannibal, then nine years old, crossing by the Pillars of Hercules, set about recovering the Carthaginian possessions in Iberia. He spent nine years there, and after reducing many Iberian tribes by war or diplomacy to Carthaginian rule, he died in a manner worthy of his great achievements; for he lost his life in a battle against the most warlike and most powerful tribes. In this last fight he showed a brilliant and even reckless personal daring.

III. THE BATTLE OF LAKE TRASIMENE; THE GREATNESS OF HANNIBAL

(Early in the spring Hannibal crossed the Apennines into Etruria and marched along the highway toward Rome. Flaminius, one of the consuls, followed close behind with an army.)

The battle of Lake Trasimene, 217 B.C.

Ancient World, 383.

The Carthaginians now reached a place formed by nature for an ambuscade, where Lake Trasimene comes nearest to Mount Cortona. A very narrow passage only intervenes, as though room enough had been left just for that purpose. Then a somewhat wider plain opens, and still farther some hills rise up. On these heights Hannibal pitched his camp in full view, where he posted his Spaniards and Africans under his own command. The Baleares and his other light troops he had ranged round the mountain; his cavalry he posted at the very entrance of the defile—conveniently hidden behind some rising ground—in order that when the Romans had entered, the horsemen might advance and every place be closed by the lake and the mountain. Flaminius passed the defile before it was quite daylight. He did not previously reconnoitre, though he had reached the lake the preceding day at sunset.

Livy xxii. 4.

(Slings from the Baleares Islands.)

When the troops began to spread into the wider plain, the commander saw that part only of the enemy which was opposite him; the ambuscade in his rear and overhead escaped his notice. And when Hannibal had his enemy enclosed by the lake and mountain, and surrounded by his troops, he gave the signal for all at the same time to charge, whereupon each began to run down the nearest way. To the Romans the event was all the more sudden and unexpected because of a mist which had risen from the lake, and was settling thicker on the plain than on the

The Romans are surrounded.

384 The First and Second Punic Wars

ridge. For this reason the Punic troops ran down from the various heights in fair sight of one another and therefore with greater regularity.

The beginning of the fight.

As the battle-cry rose on all sides, the Romans found themselves surrounded before they could well see the enemy; and the attack on the front and flank had begun before their line could be well formed, their arms prepared for action, or their swords unsheathed.

The consul.

Livy xxii. 5.

Though all the rest were in a panic, the consul faced the peril undaunted. As the men turned toward the various shouts, they threw the line into confusion, but Flaminius marshalled them as well as time and place permitted. Wherever he came within hearing, he encouraged them, and bade them stand and fight. "We can escape," he cried, "not by vows and prayers to the gods but by courage and energy. Let us hew our way with the sword through the midst of their marshalled battalions—the less the fear the less the danger!"

Confusion.

But in the noise and tumult the men heard not his advice and command; and so far were they from knowing their own standards and ranks and position, that they hardly had enough courage to take arms and make ready for battle. Some, surprised before they could don their armor, were burdened rather than protected by it. In the thick darkness there was more use for ears than for eyes. Vainly peering in every direction, they could only hear the groans of the dying, the clash of blows upon armor, the mingled clamor of threats and fear. Some in their flight ran into bands of fighters; others renewing the struggle were turned back by crowds of runaways.

A desperate struggle.

In vain the Romans charged in every direction, there was no hope of escape; for on their flanks the mountain and lake, on the front and rear the lines of the enemy en-

compassed them. As they saw their only safety lay in the right hand and the sword, each man became his own leader and encouraged to action, and an entirely new struggle arose,—not in a regular line of battle, with *principes*, *hastati*, and *triarii*, nor of such a sort as when the vanguard fights before the standards and the rest of the troops behind them, nor when each soldier stands in his own legion, cohort and company; chance collected them into bands; and each man's will assigned him his post, to fight in front or rear. So great was the ardor of battle, so intent were their minds upon the fray, that not one of the combatants felt an earthquake which threw down large parts of many Italian cities, turned rivers from their rapid courses, carried the sea up into rivers, and levelled mountains with a tremendous crash.

(The three lines of heavy infantry; *Rome*, 45; *Ancient World*, 365.)

Nearly three hours the battle raged, and in every quarter fiercely; around the consul it was hottest and most determined. With the strongest of his troops he promptly brought assistance wherever he saw his men hard pressed or worried. Knowing him by his armor, the enemy attacked him furiously, while his countrymen defended him. Finally an Insubrian horseman named Ducarius, recognizing his face, said to his fellows, "Lo, this is the consul who slew our legions and laid waste our fields and cities. Now will I offer this victim to the shades of my countrymen miserably slain!" and putting spurs to his horse, he dashed through a dense throng of the enemy. First he killed the consul's armor-bearer, who had opposed himself to the attack; then he ran the consul through with a lance. The veterans, by opposing their shields, kept him from despoiling the body.

Flaminius killed.

Livy xxii. 6.

(He had defeated them and had conquered their country, 223 B.C.)

Then for the first time many took to flight. Neither lake nor mountain could now check their hurried retreat;

Flight.

they ran over steep and narrow ways, as though they were blind; arms and men tumbled upon one another. Finding nowhere else to run, many retreating first into the shallow water along the shore, plunged farther in till only their heads and shoulders reached above. Some thoughtlessly tried to escape by swimming; but as the attempt failed, they lost courage and were drowned in the deep water; or wearied to no purpose, they made their way with extreme difficulty back to the shallows,—only to be cut down by the cavalry of the enemy, who had waded into the water.

Nearly six thousand men in the van gallantly forced their way through the opposing enemy, and without knowing what was happening in the rear, escaped from the defile. Stopping on a certain height, and hearing naught but the shouts and the clash of arms, they could not through the mist discover what was the fortune of the battle.

An army destroyed.

At length the contest was decided; and when the increasing heat of the sun had dispelled the mist and cleared the air,—then in the bright light the mountains and the plains displayed the ruin of the Roman army.

This is the famous battle of Lake Trasimene, recorded among the few disasters of Rome. Fifteen thousand Romans were killed in the struggle. Ten thousand, who had scattered in flight through all Etruria, returned to the city by various roads. A thousand five hundred of the enemy perished.

201 B.C.

(Next year Hannibal inflicted a still more terrible defeat upon the Romans at Cannæ; and though this was his last brilliant victory, he maintained himself in Italy many years. Finally he had to return to Carthage and make peace with Rome.)

Who could help admiring this great man's strategic

skill, courage, and ability, when one looks to the length of time during which he displayed those qualities, and realizes to one's self the pitched battles, the skirmishes and sieges, the revolutions and counter-revolutions of states, the vicissitudes of fortune, and in fact the whole course of his design and its execution?

The greatness of Hannibal.

Polybius xi. 19.

For sixteen continuous years Hannibal maintained the war with Rome in Italy, without once releasing his army from service in the field, but keeping those vast numbers under control, like a good pilot, without any sign of dissatisfaction toward himself or toward one another. This he did in spite of the fact that the troops in his service, so far from being of the same tribe, were not even of the same race. He had Libyans, Iberians, Ligurians, Celts, Phœnicians, Italians, and Greeks, who naturally had nothing in common with one another,—neither laws nor customs nor language. Yet the skill of the commander was such that these differences, so manifold and so wide, did not disturb obedience to one word of command and to a single will.

And yet circumstances were not by any means unvarying; for though the breeze of fortune set strongly in his favor, it as often blew adversely. We have therefore good ground for admiring Hannibal's display of ability in war; and we should not hesitate to say that had he reserved his attack upon the Romans until he had first subdued other parts of the world, not one of his projects would have eluded his grasp. As it was, he began with those whom he should have attacked last, and with them accordingly he began and ended his career.

STUDIES

1. Give Appian's account of Regulus and Xanthippus. Compare the account given in *Rome*, 100; *Ancient World*, 373 f (from Polybius). What is Polybius' estimate of the value of history as illustrated by the fate of these two generals? From the maps (*Rome*, 1, 95; *Ancient World*, 313, 371) describe the location of Sicily, Ecnomus, Messene, Mount Ercte, Panormus, Mount Eryx, Lilybæum, Drepana, the Ægatian Islands, Carthaginian Libya, and Spain (Iberia).

2. Write a biography of Hamilcar Barca, including a description of his character.

3. Write a biography of Hannibal, and describe his character. Whose character in the Second Punic War was the more admirable, that of Hannibal or that of the Romans? Would the success of Hannibal have benefited the world?

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE END OF GREEK FREEDOM

I. THE DEPOPULATION OF GREECE

IN our time all Greece was visited by a dearth of children, and generally a decay of population, owing to which the cities were denuded of inhabitants, and a failure of productiveness resulted, though there were no long-continued wars or serious pestilences among us. If, then, any one had advised our sending to ask the gods in regard to what we were to do or say in order to become more numerous and better fill our cities,—would he not have seemed a futile person, when the cause was manifest and the cure in our own hands? For this evil grew upon us rapidly, and without attracting attention, by our men becoming perverted to a passion for show and money and the pleasures of an idle life, and accordingly either not marrying at all, or if they did marry, refusing to rear the children that were born, or at most one or two out of a great number, for the sake of leaving them well off or bringing them up in extravagant luxury. For when there are only one or two sons, it is evident that, if war or pestilence carries off one, the houses must be left heirless; and like swarms of bees, little by little the cities become sparsely inhabited and weak. On this subject there is no need to ask the gods how we are to be relieved from such a curse; for any one in the world will tell you that it is by the men themselves if possible changing their objects of ambition; or, if that cannot be done, by passing

The families
are few and
small.

Polybius
xxxvii. 9.

laws for the preservation of children. On this subject there is no need of seers or of prodigies.

II. THE MISERY OF THE FALL

The greatest
of all her
misfortunes.

Polybius
xxxviii. 3.

My thirty-eighth book embraces the consummation of the misfortunes of Greece. For though Greece as a whole, as well as separate parts of it, has on several occasions sustained grave disasters, yet to none of her previous defeats could the word "misfortune" be more properly applied than to those which have befallen her in our times. For it is not only that the sufferings of Greece excite compassion; stronger still is the conviction, which a knowledge of the truth of the several occurrences must bring, that in all she undertook she was supremely unfortunate. At any rate though the disaster of Carthage is looked upon as of the severest kind, yet one cannot but regard that of Greece as not less, and in some respects even more so. For the Carthaginians at any rate left something for posterity to say in their behalf; but the mistakes of the Greeks were so glaring, that they made it impossible for those who wished to support them to do so. Besides, the destruction of the Carthaginians was immediate and total, so that they had no feelings afterward of their disasters; but the Greeks, with their misfortunes ever before their eyes, handed down to their children's children the loss of all that was once theirs. And in proportion as we regard those who live in pain as more pitiable than those who lose their lives at the moment of their misfortunes, in that proportion must the disasters of the Greeks be regarded as more pitiable than those of the Carthaginians, —unless a man thinks nothing of dignity and honor, and gives his opinion from a regard only to material advantage.

They displayed at once want of good faith and want of

courage, brought upon themselves a series of disgraces, lost all that could bring them honor, and voluntarily admitted into their towns the Roman fasces and axes. They were in the utmost panic, owing in fact to the extravagance of their own wrongful acts, if one ought to call them their own; for I should rather say that the peoples as such were entirely ignorant, and were beguiled from the path of right; but that the men who acted wrongly were the authors of this delusion.

In regard to these men, it should not be a matter of surprise if we leave for a while the ordinary method and spirit of our narrative to give a clearer and more elaborate exposition of their character. I am aware that some may be found regarding it as their first duty to cast a veil over the errors of the Greeks, to accuse us of writing in a spirit of malevolence. But for myself, I conceive that with right-minded persons a man will never be regarded as a true friend who shrinks from and is afraid of plain speech, nor indeed as a good citizen who abandons the truth because of the offence he will give to certain persons at the time. But a writer of public history above all deserves no indulgence whatever, who regards anything of superior importance to truth. For in proportion as written history reaches larger numbers, and survives for longer time, than words spoken to suit an occasion, the writer ought to be still more particular about truth, and his readers ought to admit his authority only so far as he adheres to this principle. At the actual hour of danger it is only right that Greeks should help Greeks in every possible way, by protecting them, veiling their errors or deprecating the wrath of the sovereign people; and this I genuinely did for my part at the actual time: but it is also right, in regard to the record of events to be transmitted to pos-

The politicians were responsible.

Polybius xxxviii. 5.

The first duty of the historian is to tell the truth.

Ib. 6.

One of them, Critolaus, is the subject of the next section.

He did all he could to help his countrymen.

terity, to leave them unmixed with any falsehood: so that readers should not be merely gratified for the moment by a pleasant tale, but should receive in their souls a lesson, which will prevent a repetition of similar errors in the future. Enough however, on this subject. . . .

III. OUTBREAK OF THE ACHÆAN WAR

A Roman commission attempted to conduct negotiations with Critolaus, general of the Achæan League who was to act in conjunction with the Lacedæmonians for the settlement of some misunderstandings. By his arbitrary conduct, however, Critolaus brought the negotiations to naught and thus greatly offended the Romans. The following extract is an account of his subsequent conduct.

**Critolaus
stirs up the
Greeks
against
Rome.**

Polybius
xxxviii. 9.

*Ancient
World*, 304,
392 f.

Critolaus spent the winter in visiting the cities and holding assemblies in them, on the pretext that he wished to inform them of what he had said to the Lacedæmonians at Tegea, but in reality to denounce the Romans and to put an evil interpretation on everything they said; by these means he inspired the common people in the various cities with feelings of hostility and hatred for them. At the same time he sent round orders to the magistrates not to exact money from debtors, nor to receive prisoners arrested for debt, and to cause loans on pledge to be held over until the war was decided. By this kind of appeal to the interests of the vulgar everything he said was received with confidence; and the common people were ready to obey any order he gave, being incapable of taking thought for the future, but caught by the bait of immediate indulgence and relief.

**The Romans
again at-
tempt ne-
gotiations.**
Polyb.
xxxviii. 10.

When Quintus Cæcilius Metellus heard in Macedonia of the commotion and disturbance going on in the Peloponnese, he despatched thither his legates Gnæus Papirius and the younger Popilius Lænas, along with Aulus Gabinius

and Gaus Fannius; they, happening to arrive when the congress was assembled at Corinth, were introduced to the assembly, and delivered a long and conciliatory speech, much in the spirit of that of Sextus Julius, exerting themselves with great zeal to prevent the Achæans from proceeding to an open breach with Rome, either on a pretext of their grievance against the Lacedæmonians, or from any feeling of anger against the Romans themselves. But the assembled people would not hear them; insulting words were loudly uttered against the envoys, and in the midst of a storm of yells and tumult they were driven from the assembly. The fact was that such a crowd of workmen and artisans had been got together as had never been collected before; for all the cities were in a state of drivelling folly, and above all the Corinthians *en masse*; and there were only a very few who heartily approved of the words of the envoys.

Critolaus, conceiving that he had attained his purpose, in the midst of an audience as excited and mad as himself began attacking the magistrates, abusing all who were opposed to him, and openly defying the Roman envoys, saying that he was desirous of being a friend of the Romans, but had no taste for them as his masters. And finally he tried to incite the people by saying that, if they acquitted themselves like men, they would have no lack of allies; but if they betrayed womanish fears, they would not want for masters. By many other such words to the same effect, conceived in the spirit of a charlatan and huckster, he roused and excited the populace. . . .

Having carried these measures, he began intriguing to bring on an outbreak and cause an attack upon the Roman envoys. He had no pretext for doing this; but adopted a course, which of all possible courses, offends most fla-

Critolaus
urges an at-
tack on the
envoys.

Ib. 11.

grantly against the laws of gods and man. The envoys however separated; Gnæus Papirius went to Athens and thence to Sparta to watch the turn of events; Aulus Gabinius went to Naupactus; and the other two remained at Athens, waiting for the arrival of Cæcilius Metellus. This was the state of things in the Peloponnese.

IV. THE DECISIVE BATTLE

**Overthrow
of the
Achæans.**

Pausanias
vii. 16.

Mummius
commands
the Romans.

*Ancient
World*, 392 f.

Meantime Mummius, and with him Orestes, who was first sent from Rome to settle the disputes between the Lacedæmonians and Achæans, reached the Roman army one morning, took over the command, and sent Metellus and his forces back to Macedonia, and himself waited at the Isthmus till he had concentrated all his troops. His cavalry amounted to 3,500 and his infantry to 22,000. There were also some Cretan bowmen, and Philopœmen had brought some soldiers from Attalus, from Pergamus across the Caïcus. Mummius placed some of the Italian troops and allies, so as to be an advanced post for all his army, 12 stades in the van. And the Achæans, as this vanguard was left without defence through the confidence of the Romans, attacked them, and slew some, but drove still more back to the camp, and captured about 500 shields. By this success the Achæans were so elated that they attacked the Roman army without waiting for them to begin the battle. But when Mummius led out his army to battle in turn, then the Achæan cavalry, which was opposite the Roman cavalry, ran immediately, not venturing to make one stand against the attack of the enemy's cavalry. And the infantry, though dejected at the rout of the cavalry, stood their ground against the wedge-like attack of the Roman infantry, and though out-numbered

and fainting under their wounds, yet resisted bravely till 1,000 picked men of the Romans took them in flank, and so turned the battle into a complete rout of the Achæans. And had Diæus been bold enough to hurry into Corinth after the battle, and to receive within its walls the runaways from the fight and shut himself up there, the Achæans might have obtained better terms from Mummius, if the war had been lengthened out by a siege. But as it was, when the Achæans gave way before the Romans, Diæus fled for Megalopolis. . . . Diæus after ruining the Achæans announced to the people of Megalopolis their impending ruin, and after slaying his wife with his own hand that she might not become a captive, took poison and so died. . . .

Diæus had
succeeded
Critolaus.

And most of those that were left in the city were slain by the Romans, and the women and children were sold by Mummius, as also were the slaves who had been manumitted and had fought on the side of the Achæans, and had not been killed in action. And the most wonderful of the votive offerings and other ornaments he carried off to Rome, and those of less value he gave to Philopœmen, the general of Attalus' troops, and these spoils from Corinth were in my time at Pergamum. And Mummius razed the walls of all the cities which had fought against the Romans, and took away their arms, before any advisers were sent out to him from Rome. And when they arrived, then he put down all democracies, and appointed chief-magistrates according to property qualifications. And taxes were laid upon Greece, and those who had money were forbidden to have land over the borders, and all the general meetings were put down altogether, as those in Achaia, or Phocis, or Bœotia, or any other part of Greece.

The sack
and ruin of
Corinth.

*Ancient
World*, 393 f.

STUDIES

1. What was the cause of the depopulation of Greece? What was done with children whom the father refused to bring up? What did Polybius consider the remedy for the evil?
2. What comment does he make on the fall of Greece? Whom does he consider responsible? How did his duty as historian differ from his duty as statesman? What in his opinion is one of the vices of history?
3. What were the character and policy of Critolaus? Were the Greeks or the Romans chiefly responsible for the Achæan War? Give your reasons.
4. Describe the decisive battle. How did the Romans treat the vanquished? What was done to Corinth?

CHAPTER XXXV

GROWTH OF PLUTOCRACY; PROGRESS IN CIVILIZATION

I. GOVERNMENT

THE Roman government has three factors, each of them possessing sovereign power; and their respective shares of power in the whole state have been regulated with such scrupulous regard to equality and balance that no one can say for certain, not even a native, whether the constitution as a whole is an aristocracy or democracy or despotism. And no wonder: for if we confine our observation to the power of the consuls, we should be inclined to regard it as despotic; if to that of the senate, as aristocratic; and if finally one looks at the power possessed by the people, it would seem a clear case of democracy. What the exact powers of these several parts were, and still with slight modifications are, I will now state.

Before leading out the legions, the consuls remain at Rome and are supreme masters of the administration. All other magistrates except the tribunes (of the plebs) are under them and take their orders. They introduce foreign ambassadors to the senate, bring before it matters requiring deliberation, and see to the execution of its decrees. If again there are any matters of state which require ratification by the people, it is their business to attend to these affairs, to summon the popular meetings, to bring the proposals before the assembly, and to carry out the decrees of the majority.

The three factors or "estates" of the government.

Polybius vi. 11.

Ancient World,
401-3.

I. The consuls.

Polybius vi. 12.

Their
powers in
war.

In the preparations for war, too, and briefly in the entire management of a campaign, they have all but absolute power. It is their right to impose on the allies such levies as they think good, to appoint the military tribunes, to make up the roll of soldiers, and to select those who are suitable. Besides they have absolute power of inflicting punishment on all who are under their command while in active service; and they have authority to expend as much of the public money as they choose, for they are accompanied by a quæstor who is entirely at their orders. A survey of these powers would in fact justify our describing the constitution as despotic,—a clear case of royal government. Nor will it affect the truth of my description, if any of the institutions I have described are changed in our time, or in that of our posterity. The same remarks apply to what follows.

II. The senate.

Polybius vi.
13.

(*Lustrum*,
lustration,
the ceremony
of purification
at the close of the
census-
taking;
hence the
period from
one census
to another.)

Its powers
in Italy.

The senate first of all controls the treasury, and regulates the receipts and disbursements alike. For the quæstors cannot issue any public money for the various departments of the state without a decree of the senate, except for the service of the consuls. The senate controls also what is by far the largest and most important expenditure,—that which is made by the censors every *lustrum* for the repair or construction of public buildings; this money cannot be obtained by the censors except by the grant of the senate.

Similarly all crimes committed in Italy requiring a public investigation, such as treason, conspiracy, poisoning, or wilful murder, are in the hands of the senate. Besides if any individual or state among the Italian allies requires a controversy to be settled, a penalty to be assessed, help or protection to be afforded,—all this is the province of the senate. Or again outside Italy, if it is necessary to send an embassy to reconcile warring communities, or to remind

them of their duty, or sometimes to impose requisitions upon them, or to receive their submission, or finally to proclaim war against them,—this too is the business of the senate.

In like manner the reception given to foreign ambassadors at Rome, and the answers to be returned to them, are decided by the senate. With such business the people have nothing to do. Consequently if one were staying at Rome when the consuls were not in town, one would imagine the constitution to be a complete aristocracy; and this has been the idea entertained by many Greeks, and by many kings as well, from the fact that nearly all the business they had with Rome was settled by the senate.

**Its powers
in foreign
affairs.**

After this discussion one would naturally be inclined to ask what part in the constitution is left for the people, when the senate has these various functions, especially the control of the receipts and expenditures of the treasury, and again when the consuls have absolute power over the details of military preparations and an absolute authority in the field? There is however a part left for the people, and it is a most important one. For the people are the sole fountain of honor and of punishment; and it is by these two powers and these alone that dynasties and constitutions and, in a word, human society are held together. For where the distinction between them is not sharply drawn both in theory and practice, there no undertaking can be properly administered,—as indeed we might expect when good and bad are held in exactly the same honor.

**III. The
people.**

Polybius vi.
14

The people then are the only court to decide matters of life and death; and even in cases where the penalty is money, if the sum to be assessed is sufficiently serious, and especially when the accused have held the higher magis-

**Their power
in trials.**

tracies. And in regard to this arrangement there is one point deserving especial commendation and record. Men who are on trial for their lives at Rome, while sentence is in process of being voted,—if one tribe only whose vote is needed to ratify the sentence has not voted,—have the privilege of openly departing and condemning themselves to voluntary exile. Such men are safe at Naples or Præneste or at Tibur, or at other town with which this arrangement has been duly ratified on oath.

In elections,
legislation,
and foreign
affairs.

Again, it is the people who bestow offices—the most honorable rewards of virtue—on the deserving. They have too the absolute power of passing or repealing laws; and most important of all, it is the people who deliberate on the questions of peace or war. And when provisional terms are made for alliance, suspension of hostilities, or treaties, it is the people who ratify or reject them.

These considerations again would lead one to say that the chief power in the state is the people's, and that the constitution is a democracy.

Relations of
these three
parts, or
estates, to
one another.

Such then is the distribution of power among the several parts of the government. I must now show how these several parts can oppose or support one another as they choose. . . .

The har-
mony and
strength of
the constitu-
tion.

The result of this power of the several estates for mutual help or harm is a union sufficiently firm for all emergencies, and the best possible form of government. For whenever any danger from without compels these estates to unite and work together, the strength which is developed by the state is so extraordinary that everything required is unfailingly carried out by the eager rivalry of all classes to devote their whole minds to the need of the hour, and to make sure that any resolution agreed upon should not fail for want of promptness; while each individual, alike

Polybius vi.
18.

in private and public, works for the accomplishment of the business in hand. The peculiar constitution accordingly makes the state irresistible, and certain of obtaining whatever it attempts.

Nay even when these external alarms are past, and the people are enjoying their good fortune and the fruits of their victories, and as usually happens, are growing corrupt through flattery and idleness, so as to show a tendency to violence and arrogance,—it is in these circumstances more than ever that the constitution is seen to possess within itself the power of correcting abuses. For when any one of the three estates becomes puffed up, and shows an inclination to be contentious and unduly encroaching, the dependency of all three upon one another, and the possibility of limiting and thwarting one another must certainly check this tendency. The proper balance is maintained therefor by holding the impulsiveness of one part under fear of the others.

The correction of abuses.

II. RELIGION

Whenever one of their illustrious men dies, as a part of the funeral the body with all its adornments is carried into the Forum to the rostra, as a raised platform there is called. Sometimes the body is propped upright upon it so as to be easily seen, or more rarely it is laid upon the rostra. The speaker is the son, if the deceased has left one of full age who is present at the time; or, failing a son, one of his kinsmen mounts the rostra, while all the people are standing round, and delivers a speech concerning the virtues of the deceased and the successful exploits performed by him in his lifetime. By these measures the people are reminded of what has been done and made to see it with their own eyes—not only those persons who were engaged in the

The funeral oration.

Polybius vi. 53.

actual transactions but those also who were not. Their sympathies are so deeply moved that the loss appears not to be confined to the actual mourners, but to be a public one affecting the whole community.

The masks
(*imagines*).

After the burial and all the usual ceremonies are performed, they place the likeness of the deceased in the most conspicuous spot in the house and surmount it by a wooden canopy or shrine. This likeness consists of a mask made to represent the deceased with remarkable fidelity both in form and in color. These likenesses they adorn with great care, and display them at public sacrifices. And when any illustrious member of the family dies, they carry these masks to the funeral, putting them on men whom they think as near like the originals as possible in height and other personal peculiarities. And these substitutes assume clothes according to the rank of the person represented: if he was a consul or a prætor, a toga with purple stripes; if a censor, whole purple; if he had also celebrated a triumph or performed any exploit of that kind, a toga embroidered with gold. These representatives themselves ride in chariots, while the fasces and axes and all the other customary insignia of the particular offices lead the way, according to the dignity of the rank enjoyed by the deceased in his lifetime. On arriving at the rostra they all take their seats on ivory chairs in their order.

*Rome, 27;
Ancient
World, 332.*

There could not easily be a more inspiring spectacle than this for a young man of noble ambitions and virtuous aspirations. For can we imagine any one unmoved at the sight of all the likenesses collected together of the men who have earned glory, all as it were living and breathing? Or what could be a more glorious spectacle?

The speaker over the body about to be buried, after finishing the praise of this particular person, starts upon

the others whose representatives are present; he begins with the most ancient, and recounts the successes and achievements of each. By this means the glorious memory of brave men is continually renewed; the fame of those who have performed any noble deed is never allowed to die; and the renown of those who have done good service to their country becomes a matter of common knowledge to the multitude and a part of the heritage of posterity. But the chief benefit of the ceremony is that it inspires young men to shrink from no exertion for the general welfare, in the hope of obtaining the glory that awaits the brave.

And what I say is confirmed by this fact. Many Romans have volunteered to decide a whole battle by a single combat; not a few have deliberately accepted certain death, some in time of war to secure the safety of the rest, some in time of peace to preserve the safety of the commonwealth. There have also been instances of men in office putting their own sons to death, in defiance of every custom and law, because they rated the interests of their country higher than those of natural ties even with their nearest and dearest. There are many stories of this kind, related by many men in Roman history.

What in other nations is looked upon as a reproach—I mean a scrupulous fear of the gods—is, I believe, the very thing which keeps the Roman commonwealth together. To such an unusual height is this carried among them in both private and public business that nothing could exceed it. Many persons might think this unaccountable; but in my opinion their object is to use it as a check upon the common people. If it were possible to form a state wholly of philosophers, such a custom would perhaps be unnecessary. But seeing that every multitude is fickle and full of lawless desires, unreasoning anger, and violent

The praise
of departed
heroes.

Polybius vi.
54.

Value of
religion.

(For the be-
ginnings of
scepticism,
which pre-
vailed among
the Greeks
of this age,
see *Greece*,
218 ff.)

passion, the only resource is to keep them in check by mysterious terrors and scenic effects of this sort. Therefore, to my mind, the ancients were not acting without purpose or at random when they brought in among the vulgar those notions about the gods and the belief in the punishment in Hades; much rather do I think that men in these times are acting rashly and foolishly in rejecting them.

Honesty.

This is the reason why, apart from anything else, Greek statesmen, if intrusted with a single talent, though protected by ten checking clerks, as many seals, and twice as many witnesses, yet cannot be induced to keep faith; whereas among the Romans in their magistracies and embassies, men have the handling of a great amount of money, and yet from pure respect to their oath keep their faith intact. And again, in other nations it is a rare thing to find a man who keeps his hands out of the public purse and is entirely pure in such matters; but among the Romans it is a rare thing to detect a man in the act of committing a crime.

III. AGRICULTURE

Farmer's Calendar.

From an
inscription.

Sign of the Twins.

The Month is June.

It contains thirty days.

The Nones are on the fifth.

The day has fifteen hours.

The night has nine hours.

The solstice is on the eighth day before the Calends of June (May 25).

The month is under the care of Mercury.

Hay-mowing.

The vineyards are harrowed.

Sacrifice is offered to Hercules and to Fors Fortuna.

To obtain wealth by trade has various advantages, were it not so precarious; and likewise lending money at interest, were it more consistent with honor. Such was the opinion entertained by our ancestors, and such are the regulations prescribed in their statutes that the fine of the thief should be twofold, but fourfold that of the usurer. How much less excellent a citizen they deemed the money-lender than the thief can be estimated from this consideration. And when they paid their eulogies to a good man, they praised him as a good agriculturist, a good husbandman. He was considered to receive the highest meed of praise who thus was praised. Now a trader I consider to be energetic and zealous in making gain, but as I have before stated, his occupation is not exempt from risk and misfortune. But it is from the agriculturists that are produced both the most stalwart men and the most unflinching soldiers; from their toil results gain the most consistent with religion, the least susceptible to shock, and the least likely to excite prejudice; and those engaged in this pursuit are least given to entertaining thoughts of ill. Now to return to the subject in hand, this beginning which I have promised will be made.

When you think to provide an estate, be determined not to buy rashly, nor through any fault of yours, to grudge inspection, nor to rest satisfied with merely walking around it once. With each succeeding visit a good farm will cause increased satisfaction. Note this well, the prosperity of the neighbors; if the locality be good, their welfare of necessity will be well marked. And see that you enter into the farm and examine thoroughly how you may have some exit therefrom. See that the climate it possesses is a good one, that this may not prove your bane. Let its soil be good with a value of its own. If it is within your

Scientific farming.

Cato, *On Agriculture*.
Translated by Dr. E. H. Oliver.

Agriculture more honorable than money-lending.

Ib. preface.

The choice of an estate.

Ib. 1.

power let it be situated at the foot of a mountain, face the south, and lie in a wholesome district. Have a supply of workmen on hand, a good watering place, and near by a thriving town or sea or river, where ships ply, or else a road well constructed and much travelled.

Other
important
considera-
tions.

Let it lie surrounded by farms which suffer but seldom from a change of ownership. May those who in this region have sold their farms repent their having done so. Have it well furnished with buildings. Beware of rashly despising the instruction of another. You will buy to better advantage from a good owner, a good husbandman. On coming to the farmhouse, observe whether there be a good supply of vessels for the press and jars; where there is not, know that the produce of the farm is proportionately small. That it may not demand an immense equipment, let it be situated in a convenient locality. See that your farm demands as small an equipment as possible, and requires no extravagant outlay. Know that a farm differs not from a person; however productive it is, yet if the expenditure is excessive, the profits are trifling. If you ask me what is the best farm, this will be my opinion: for all farmers and for the highest order of merit, for a farm 100 jugera in extent: first in order of excellence is a vineyard, if the land will produce wine of good quality, or even in great quantities; in the second place, a kitchen plot (garden); thirdly, a plantation of willows; in the fourth place, an olive garden; fifthly, a meadow; sixthly, a clump of trees for cutting; in the seventh place, an orchard; eighthly an acorn grove.

Inspection
by the
owner.

Ib. 2.

When the owner has come to the farmhouse, and has saluted his domestic deity, let him on the same day, if possible, make a tour around his farm; if not on the same day, then on the following day. When he has ascertained in what

way his farm has been tilled, and what tasks have been completed, and what left undone, on the day following this let him summon his steward, and inquire what work has been accomplished, what still remains; whether the tasks were performed quite at the appropriate time; whether he can complete what is still left; what wine has been made, what corn harvested, and thus with all other products. When he has ascertained this he must inspect the account of the various workmen and the number of days they have worked. If their work is not evident to him and the steward claims that he has worked faithfully, the slaves have been sick, the weather has been bad, the slaves have escaped, have completed some public work; when he has urged these reasons and many others besides, recall the steward to an examination of the account of tasks performed and the work of the laborers.

The duties which could be performed when it rains are the washing and pitching of jars, cleaning of the farmhouse, moving the corn, carrying out the manure, making a manure-pit, cleaning the seed, repairing the ropes, making new ones; the slaves ought to patch together their rag-garments and caps for themselves. On holidays old benches should be cleaned, the public way paved, brambles cut out, the garden dug, the meadow cleared, twigs bound, thorns rooted up, spelt ground, everything made clean. When the slaves have been sick, they ought not to be given so much provisions. . . .

These will be the duties of the steward: Let him maintain good discipline. Let holidays be observed. Let him restrain his hands from others' goods and faithfully preserve his own wealth. Let him preside at the disputes among the slaves; if any one has been guilty of a delinquency, let him with discretion punish him according to

**Work on
rainy days.**

**Duties of
the steward.**

Ib. 5.

his guilt. Let him provide against ill befalling the household, against sickness, against hunger; let him ply them well with work, he will more readily restrain them from evil and others' possessions. If the steward is unwilling to do wrong, he will not do it. If he has tolerated evil, let not his master suffer him to go unpunished. Let him grant a recompense for good service, that others may be pleased to act rightly. Let the steward be not a gad-about, always be sober, go abroad nowhere to feast. Let him keep the household busy and give thought to having his master's orders obeyed. Let him not fancy that he is wiser than his master. The friends of his master let him hold as friends to himself. Let him pay attention to the commands that have been given him. Let him perform no sacred rites except at the cross-road or on the hearth at the feast of the cross-roads. Without the order of his master, let him extend a loan to no one. Let him exact the payment of loans extended by his master. Let him grant to no one a loan of seed for sowing, provisions, spelt, wine, oil. Let him have two or three households, to whom he may make requests, and grant articles to be used; but let this be the limit. . . .

A cure for
dislocations.

Ib. 160.

If anything is dislocated, it will become sound by this spell. Take a green reed three or four feet long, split it down the middle and let two men hold it to the hip bones. Then begin to sing in different measures, "*The Healing of the Fractured Hip*:"

"Hip, Hip, Hurrah!
Though you're broken sore, I trow,
You will come together now.
Hip, Hip, Hurrah!
Bones are crushed and far apart—
Come together by our art."

IV. PHILOSOPHERS AND RHETORICIANS BANISHED FROM ROME

In the consulate of Caius Fannius Strabo, and Marcus Valerius Messala, a decree of the senate was adopted concerning the Latin philosophers and teachers of rhetoric: "Marcus Pomponius the prætor called for the opinion of the Senate, to wit: Since remark has been made concerning philosophers and rhetoricians, it was therefore decreed that Marcus Pomponius the prætor should take steps against them, and take care that, if it seemed in the public interest and in consonance with his own duty, they should not be in Rome."

A decree of the senate, 161 B.C.

Gellius xv. 11.

A few years after this decree of the senate, Cnæus Domitianus Ahenobarbus and Lucius Licinius Crassus, the censors, issued this edict for restraining Latin rhetoricians:

"Whereas we have been informed that there are men who have instituted a new form of instruction and that to the classes of these men our youth flock, while they call themselves Latin rhetoricians, and that there the young men pass whole days in idleness; now our ancestors have fixed what instruction their sons should imbibe, and what schools they should frequent. These new institutions, therefore, which accord not with the customs and manner of our ancestors, are neither agreeable nor proper. Wherefore to those who conduct as well as those who frequent such seminaries, we have thought proper to express our disapprobation of their proceedings."

An edict of the censors.

V. ROMAN MUSICAL TASTE

Lucius Anicius, who had been prætor and had gained a victory over the Illyrians, returned to Rome with their

The celebra-
tion of a
triumph.

Polybius
xxx. 14.

Let the
orchestra be
more lively!

Pandemo-
nium.

king Genthius and his children as prisoners. While celebrating his triumph, Anicius did a very ridiculous thing. He sent for the most famous artists from Greece, and after building an immense theatre in the Circus, he brought all the flute-players on the stage together . . . the most celebrated of the day. He placed them on the stage with the chorus, and bade them all play at once.

But when they struck up the tune accompanied by appropriate movements, he sent to them to say that they were not playing well, and must put more excitement into it. At first they did not know what to make of this order, until one of the lictors showed them that they must form themselves into two companies and facing round, advance against each other as though in battle. The flute-players caught the idea at once, and adopting a motion suitable to their own wild strains, produced a scene of utter confusion.

They made the middle group of the chorus face round upon the two extreme groups; and blowing with inconceivable violence and discordance, the flute-players led these groups against each other. Meanwhile with violent stamping that shook the stage, the members of the chorus rushed against those who were opposite, and then faced round and retired. But when one of the chorus, with dress girt up, turned round on the spur of the moment and raised his hands, like a boxer, in the face of the flute-player who was approaching, then the spectators clapped their hands and cheered loudly.

While this sort of sham fight was going on, two dancers were brought into the orchestra to the sound of music; and four boxers, accompanied by trumpeters and clarion players, mounted the stage. The effect of these various contests all going on together was indescribable. But if I

should speak about their tragic actors, some would think I was merely jesting.

VI. CATO THE CENSOR

Marcus Porcius Cato (another eminent man of the age) was born at Tusculum and brought up on a farm belonging to his father in the Sabine country. There he lived till he began to take part in war and politics. In appearance he was—

Marcus Porcius Cato.

Plutarch, *Cato*, 1.

Ancient World, 405 f.

Red-haired, gray-eyed, and savage-tusked as well.

The estate adjoining that of Cato belonged to one of the most powerful and highly born patricians of Rome,—Valerius Flaccus, a man who had a keen eye for rising merit, and generously fostered it till it received public recognition. This man heard of Cato's life from his servants, who told how their master would go to the court early in the morning and plead the causes of all who required his services, and then on returning to his farm would work with his servants, in winter wearing a coarse coat without sleeves, in summer nothing but his tunic. They added that he used to sit at meals with them and eat the same loaf and drink the same wine.

His life in the country.

Plutarch, *Cato*, 3.

Many other stories of his goodness, simplicity, and sententious remarks were told Valerius, who became interested in his neighbor, and invited him to dinner. They grew intimate; and Valerius, noticing his quiet and frank disposition, and thinking him like a plant that requires careful treatment and an extensive space in which to develop, encouraged and urged him to take part in political life at Rome.

On going to Rome, he at once gained admirers by his able pleadings in the law courts, while he was advanced to

Cato at Rome.

important positions through Valerius. He was first appointed military tribune and then quæstor. Afterward he became so distinguished as to be able to compete with Valerius himself for the highest offices in the state. They were together elected consuls, and still later censors. Of the older Romans, Cato attached himself especially to Fabius Maximus, a man of the greatest renown and influence, although it was his disposition and mode of life which Cato desired most to imitate. He did not hesitate, therefore, to oppose Scipio the Great, who was then a young man but a rival and opponent of Fabius.

*Rome, 110;
Ancient
World, 383 f.*

Clothing and food.

*Plutarch,
Cato, 4.*

He himself tells us that he never wore a garment worth more than a hundred drachmas; that when he was general and consul he still drank the same wine as his servants; that his dinner never cost him more than thirty asses in the market; and that he indulged himself to this extent solely for the good of the state, that he might be strong and able to serve his country in the field.

*Plutarch,
Cato, 5.*

These habits some ascribed to narrowness of mind, while some thought he carried parsimony to excess in order by his example to reform and restrain others. Be this as it may, I for my part consider that his conduct in treating his slaves like beasts of burden, and selling them when old and worn out, was the mark of an excessively harsh disposition, which disregards the claims of our common human nature, and merely considers the question of profit and loss.

His maxims.

*Plutarch,
Cato, 8.*

(Cato was famous for his pithy sayings.) Once when he wished to restrain the Romans from distributing a large quantity of corn as a largess to the people, he thus began his speech:

“It is difficult, fellow-citizens, to make the stomach hear reason, because it has no ears.”

He said, too,

"The Romans are like sheep, who never form opinions of their own, but follow where others lead them."

With regard to female influence, he once said,

"All mankind rule their wives, we rule all mankind, and our wives rule us."

When a certain man sold his ancestral estate, which was situated by the seashore, Cato pretended to admire him as more powerful than the sea itself, "for this man," he said, "has drunk up the fields which the sea itself could not swallow."

When King Eumenes came to Rome, the senate received him with special honors, and he was courted and run after. Cato, however, held himself aloof and would not go near him and when some one said, "But he is an excellent man and a good friend to Rome," he answered:

(Eumenes,
King of Per-
gamum, Asia
Minor.)

"It may be so, but a king is by nature an animal that lives on human flesh."

"Wise men," he said, "gain more advantage from fools than fools from wise men; for wise men avoid the errors of fools, but fools cannot imitate the example of wise men."

Plutarch,
Cato, 9.

"I like young men to have red cheeks rather than pale ones. I care not for a soldier who uses his hands while marching and his feet while fighting, or for one who snores louder in bed than he shouts in battle."

"I cannot live with a man whose palate is more sensitive than his heart." This he said when an epicure wished to become his friend.

"The soul of a lover inhabits the body of his beloved."

"In my whole life I repent of three things only: first, that I have trusted a woman with a secret; secondly, that I have gone by water when I might have gone by land;

thirdly, that I have passed one day without having made my will."

To an old man who was acting wrongly he said:

"My good sir, old age is ugly enough without your adding to it the deformity of wickedness."

When a certain tribune, who was suspected of being a poisoner, was trying to carry a bad law, Cato remarked:

"Young man, I do not know which is the worse for us, to drink what you mix or to enact what you propose."

Once when he was abused by a man of vicious life, he answered:

"We are not contending on equal terms; you are accustomed to hearing and using bad language, whereas I am unused to hearing it and unwilling to use it."

His political life.

Plutarch,
Cato, 15.

In his political life he seems to have thought one of his most important duties to be the impeachment of bad citizens. . . . He himself is said to have been defendant in nearly fifty cases, the last of which was tried when he was eighty-six years old. On this occasion he uttered that well known saying, "It is hard for a man who has lived in one generation to be obliged to defend himself before another." And this was not the end of his litigations; for four years later, at the age of ninety, he impeached Servius Galba. In fact his life, like that of Nestor, reached through three generations.

His censorship.

Plutarch,
Cato, 18.

But what caused the greatest dissatisfaction were the restrictions which he as censor imposed on luxury. This vice he could not attack openly, because it had taken such deep root among the people; but he caused all clothes, carriages, women's ornaments, and furniture which exceeded fifteen hundred drachmas in value to be rated at ten times their value and taxed accordingly; for he thought that those who possessed the most valuable property

ought to contribute most largely to the revenues of the state. A tax of but three copper asses for every thousand, on the other hand, he imposed upon all the citizens, that those who were burdened with an excessive taxation on luxuries, when they saw persons of frugal and simple habits paying so small a tax on the same income, might cease from their extravagance. This measure gained him the hatred of those who were taxed so heavily for their luxuries. P. 376.

Far from paying attention to those who blamed his policy, he proceeded to still severer measures. He cut off the water-pipes, by which water was conveyed from the public fountains into private houses and gardens, and destroyed all houses which encroached upon public streets, lowered the price of contracts for public works, and farmed out the public revenues for the highest possible sums. Plutarch,
Cato, 19.

STUDIES

1. In the time of the Punic Wars what kind of government had Rome? What feature of the government was monarchical (or despotic)? What feature was aristocratic? What feature was democratic? What were the powers and duties of the consul? of the senate? Describe the harmony of the constitution.

2. Describe the masks and the funeral oration. What was the effect of these customs on character? What was the practical value of religion to the Romans? Compare the Romans with the Greeks in honesty.

3. What was the value of this calendar to the farmer? How did farming compare in honor with other occupations? What rules does Cato lay down for purchasing a country estate? Who were the laborers on a farm? What work was reserved for rainy days? What were the duties of a steward? What remedy was prescribed for dislocation? What other information as to life and character may we derive from this selection from Cato? To what time does it refer?

4. What attitude did the Roman government take toward higher

education (rhetoric and philosophy)? When were these two documents issued and what is their object?

5. What example does Polybius give us to illustrate the Roman feeling for good music? What impression of Roman character is made by this selection?

6. Give an account of the early life of Cato; of his censorship. What are some of his pithy sayings? Enumerate the prominent traits of his character. From this entire chapter, with the corresponding chapter in the *Ancient World*, write a paper on "Roman Character and Intelligence in the Second Century B.C."

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE REVOLUTION: (I) FROM PLUTOCRACY TO MILITARY RULE

I. TIBERIUS GRACCHUS

WHILE Scipio (Æmilianus, his brother-in-law), was warring against Numantia, Tiberius began his legislation, to which he was led by the following motives.

Of the land acquired by war the Romans (1) assigned the cultivated part forthwith to settlers or (2) leased or (3) sold it. Since they had no leisure immediately to allot the part which then lay desolated by war,—generally the greater part,—(4) they made proclamation that in the meantime those who were willing to work it might do so on condition of rendering to the government a share of the yearly crops—a tenth of the grain and a fifth of the fruit. From those who kept flocks was required a share of the animals, both oxen and small cattle. They did these things in order to multiply the Italian race, which they considered the most laborious of peoples, that they might have plenty of allies at home.

The result, however, was the very opposite of their desire. For the rich, getting possession of the greater part of the undistributed lands, and emboldened by the lapse of time to believe that they should never be dispossessed, added to their holdings the small farms of their poor neighbors partly by purchase and partly by force. In this way they came to cultivate vast tracts instead of single estates, using for the purpose slaves as laborers and

The legisla-
tion of Tibe-
rius.

Plutarch,
Tiberius
Gracchus, 7.

How the
Romans
disposed of
acquired
land.

Appian,
Civil Wars,
i. 7.

herdsmen, lest free laborers should be drawn from their employment into the army.

The ownership of slaves itself brought great gain from the large number of children, who multiplied because slaves were exempt from military service. Thus the powerful men became enormously rich, and the race of slaves increased throughout the country, while the Italian people dwindled in numbers and strength, oppressed by penury, taxes, and military service. If they had any respite from these evils, they passed their time in idleness, because the land was held by the rich, who employed slaves instead of freemen as cultivators.

How Tiberius became a reformer.

Plutarch,
Tiberius Gracchus, 8.

In a certain book Gaius recorded that as Tiberius, his brother, was passing through Etruria on his way to Numantia, he saw that the country was depopulated, and that the laborers and shepherds were foreign slaves and barbarians; then for the first time Tiberius thought out those political measures which to the two brothers were the beginning of infinite calamities. But the energy and ambition of Tiberius were roused mainly by the people, who by writing on the porticos, walls, and tombs, urged him to recover the public land for the poor.

His agrarian law, 133 B.C.

Appian,
Civil Wars,
i. 9.

Rome, 152;
Ancient World, 410.

He brought forward a law which provided (1) that no one should hold more than five hundred jugera of the public land. But he added a provision to the former law, (2) that the sons of the present occupiers might each hold one-half that amount, and (3) that the remainder should be divided among the poor by triumvirs, who should be changed annually.

Opposition.

Appian,
Civil Wars,
i. 10.

This greatly disturbed the rich because, on account of the triumvirs, they could no longer disregard the law as they had done before; nor could they buy the allotments of others, for Gracchus had provided against this

by forbidding sales. Collecting in groups, they lamented, and accused the poor of appropriating the results of their tillage, their vineyards, and their dwellings. Some said they had paid the price of the land to their neighbors. Were they to lose the money with the land? Others said that the graves of their ancestors were in the ground which had been allotted to them in the division of their fathers' estates. Others declared that their wives' dowries had been expended on the estates, or that the land had been given to their own daughters as dowry. Money-lenders could show loans made on this security. All kinds of wailing and expressions of indignation were heard at once.

**The poor
support him.**

On the other side were heard the lamentations of the poor,—that they had been reduced from competence to extreme penury, and from that to childlessness because they were unable to rear their offspring. They recounted the military services they had rendered, by which this very land had been acquired, and were angry that they were robbed of their share of the common property. They reproached the rich for employing instead of citizens, mere slaves, who were always faithless and ill-tempered and for that reason unserviceable in war.

While these classes were lamenting, and accusing each other, many from the colonies and municipia, and all in fact who were interested in the lands and who were under similar fears, flocked in and took sides with the respective factions. Emboldened by numbers and exasperated against each other, they formed turbulent crowds, and waited for the voting on the new law. Some tried by all means to prevent its enactment and others supported it in every possible way. In addition to personal interest, the spirit of rivalry spurred both sides in the preparations they were making for the day of the assembly.

The object of the law.

Appian,
Civil Wars,
i. 11.

What Gracchus had in his mind in proposing the measure was not wealth but an increase in the number of useful citizens. Thoroughly inspired by the value of his plan, and believing that nothing more advantageous or more admirable could ever happen to Italy, he took no account of the difficulties in his way. . . .

Ib. 12.

Marcus Octavius, another tribune, who had been induced by the holders of these lands to interpose his veto, ordered the scribe to keep silence. Now among the Romans the tribune's veto always prevailed. Gracchus therefore reproached him severely and adjourned the meeting to the following day. Then he stationed a sufficient guard as if to force Octavius against his will, and with threats ordered the scribe to read the proposed law to the multitude. He began to read but when Octavius again vetoed, he stopped.

Then the tribunes fell to wrangling with each other, and a considerable tumult arose among the people. The leading citizens besought the tribunes to submit their controversy to the senate for a decision. Gracchus seized on the suggestion,—for he believed that the law was acceptable to all well-disposed persons,—and hastened to the senate-house. As he had there only a few followers and was upbraided by the rich, he ran back to the Forum, and said he would take the vote of the assembly on the following day; the question would be not only on the law but on the magistracy of Octavius, to determine whether a tribune who was acting contrary to the people's interest could continue to hold his office.

On the legality of such depositions;
Ancient World, 411;
Roman Assemblies, 367.

Deposition of Octavius.

And so he did; for when Octavius, nothing daunted, again interposed, Gracchus distributed the pebbles to take a vote on him first. When the first tribe voted to depose Octavius from his magistracy, Gracchus turned

to him and begged him to desist from his veto. As he would not yield, the votes of the other tribes were taken. There were thirty-five tribes at this time. The seventeen which first voted, angrily sustained this motion. If the eighteenth should do the same, it would make a majority. Again did Gracchus, in the sight of the people, urgently importune Octavius in his present extreme danger not to prevent this most pious work, so useful to Italy, and not to frustrate the wishes so earnestly entertained by the people, whose desires he ought rather to share in his character of tribune, and not risk the loss of his office by public condemnation. After speaking thus, he called the gods to witness that he did not willingly do any despite to his colleague. But as Octavius was still unyielding, he went on to take the votes. Octavius was forthwith reduced to the rank of a private citizen and slunk away unobserved.

The law concerning the land was immediately afterward carried. . . .

Plutarch,
Tiberius
Gracchus, 13.

II. GAIUS GRACCHUS

The common opinion is that Gaius was a pure demagogue and much more greedy of popular favor than Tiberius. But in fact the younger brother took part in public affairs through necessity rather than choice. Cicero the orator says that Gaius declined all offices and had determined to live in retirement, but that his brother appeared to him in a dream and said, "Gaius, why do you hesitate? There is no escape—it is our fate to live and die for the people."

Gaius
Gracchus.

Plutarch,
Gaius Grac-
chus, 1.

Ancient
World, 413-6.

On entering office (the tribunate) he soon made himself first on the board, for he surpassed every Roman in eloquence, and his misfortunes gave him a license

123 B.C.

Plut. *ib.* 3.

for speaking freely when lamenting the fate of his brother.

His laws.

Plutarch,
Gaius Grac-
chus, 5.

Of the laws which he proposed with a view to gaining the popular favor and to weakening the senate, one was for the establishment of colonies and for the distribution of public land among the poor. Another provided for supplying the soldiers with clothing at the public expense, without any deduction from their pay on this account; the same law exempted youths under seventeen from being drafted for the army. A third favored the allies, and put the Italians on the same footing as the citizens with respect to the suffrage. Another, relating to grain, had for its object the lowering of the price for the poor. The last referred to the jurors,—a measure which most of all encroached on the privileges of the senate.

**His
monarchical
power.**

Plutarch,
Gaius Grac-
chus, 6.

Rome, 130,
n. 1.

The people not only passed the last-named measure, but empowered Gracchus to select from the knights those who were to act as jurors—a right which conferred on him a kind of monarchical authority, and even the senate now assented to the measures which he proposed in that body. All his plans, however, were honorable to the senate. Such, for instance, was the reasonable and just decree about the grain which Fabius the proprætor sent from Iberia. Gracchus induced the senate to sell the grain and return the money to the Iberian cities, and further to censure Fabius for making the Roman dominion heavy and intolerable to the subject nations. This decree brought Gaius great reputation and popularity in the provinces.

**An adminis-
trator of
marvelous
energy.**

He also introduced measures for sending out colonies, for the construction of roads, and for the building of public granaries; and he made himself director and superintendent for carrying all these plans into effect. Though engaged in so many great undertakings, he was never

wearied, but with wonderful activity and labor he effected every single object as if he had for the time no other occupation; so that even those who thoroughly feared and hated him were amazed at the rapidity and perfect execution of all that he undertook. But the people looked with admiration on the man himself, as they saw him attended by crowds of building contractors, artificers, ambassadors, soldiers, and learned men, to all of whom he was easy of access. And while he maintained his dignity, he was affable to all, and adapted his behavior to the condition of every individual, and so proved the falsehood of those who called him tyrannical or arrogant or violent. In this way he showed himself more skilful as a popular leader in his dealings with men than even in his speeches from the rostra.

But Gaius busied himself most about the building of roads with a view to utility, convenience, and ornament. The roads were made in a straight line through the country, partly of quarried stone and partly with tight-rammed masses of earth. By filling up the depressions, and by throwing bridges across those parts which were traversed by winter torrents or deep ravines, and by raising the road on both sides to the same uniform height, the whole line was made level, and presented a pleasing appearance. He also measured all the roads by miles—the Roman mile is not quite eight stadia—and he fixed stone blocks to mark the distances. He placed other stones at shorter distances from one another on each side of the road, that people might easily mount their horses from these blocks without other assistance.

Gaius Gracchus is held to have been a powerful and strenuous orator. No one disputes it. But how is it to be borne, that in the eyes of some he appears more stern,

His public roads.

Plutarch, *Gaius Gracchus*, 7.

**Mistreatment of
Italians by
the Romans.**

*Speeches of
Gaius Gracchus, quoted
by Gellius*
x. 3.

more spirited, more copious than Marcus Tullius? Now I was reading lately a speech of Gracchus upon the statutes published, in which with all the odium possible he complains that Marcus Marius, and other persons of distinction from the municipal towns of Italy, were injuriously whipped with rods by the magistrates of the Roman people. His words upon this subject are as follows: "The consul lately came to Theanum Sidicinum; he said his wife wished to bathe in the men's bath. To Marcus Marius, the quæstor of Sidicinum, the task was assigned that they who were bathing should be driven forth. The wife reports to her husband that the baths were not given up to her soon enough nor were they sufficiently clean. A post was accordingly fixed down in the market-place, and Marcus Marius, the most illustrious man of his city, was led to it; his garments were stripped off, and he was beaten with rods. When the inhabitants of Cales heard this, they passed a decree that no one should presume to bathe when Roman magistrates were there. At Ferentinum, also, our prætor for a reason of the same sort ordered the quæstors to be seized. One threw himself from the wall, the other was taken and scourged."

**Comment of
Gellius.**

In a matter so atrocious, in so lamentable and distressing a proof of public injustice, what has he said, either in a full or an incisive way, or so as to excite tears or commiseration? What has he spoken expressive of exuberant indignation, or in a spirit of solemn and striking remonstrance? There is indeed a brevity and terseness and a telling simplicity in his speech, such as we usually find in the cleverness of the comic stage.

**The body in
the litter.**

*Speech of
Gracchus; ib.*

In another place likewise Gracchus speaks thus: "One example I will show you of the licentiousness and intemperance of our young men. A few years ago a young man

Proposal to Extend the Citizenship 425

was sent from Asia as an ambassador, who had not yet been in any magistracy. He was carried in a litter, when a herdsman from the peasantry of Venusium met him, and not knowing what they were carrying, asked in joke whether they were bearing a dead body? Having heard this, he ordered the litter to be set down and the man to be beaten with the ropes by which the litter was fastened, till he gave up the ghost." Now this speech of his, upon so violent and cruel an outrage, differs nothing at all from the style of common conversation.

Further
comment.

He called the Latin allies to demand the full rights of Roman citizenship, for the senate could not with decency refuse this privilege to kinsmen by blood. To the other allies, who were not allowed to vote in Roman assemblies, he sought to give the right of suffrage, in order to have their help in the enactment of laws which he had in mind. Greatly alarmed at this, the senate ordered the consuls to give public notice: "Nobody who does not possess the right of suffrage shall stay in the city or approach within forty stadia of it while the voting is going on concerning these laws." The senate also persuaded Livius Drusus, another tribune, to interpose his veto against the laws proposed by Gracchus, but not to tell the people his reasons for doing so; for a tribune was not required to give reasons for his veto. In order to win the people they gave Drusus the privilege of founding twelve colonies, and the plebeians were so much pleased with this that they began to scoff at the laws proposed by Gracchus.

**The Latins
and the
Italians.**

Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 23.

(For colonies, allies, etc., see *Rome*, 62-64; *Ancient World*, 361-5.

III. GAIUS MARIUS

He took all who were willing to join him, the greater number from the lowest ranks. Some said this was done

His army.

Sallust,
Jugurthine
War, 86.

Ancient
World, 416-
23.

Plutarch,
Marius, 9.

from a scarcity of better men, and others from the consul's desire to pay court to the poorer class, by whom he had been honored and promoted. In fact to a man grasping at power the most needy are the most serviceable.

Former generals had never admitted men of this kind into the army, but had given arms, as a badge of honor, to those only who had the due qualification (of property); for they considered that every soldier pledged his property to the state.

Marius sent for auxiliaries from foreign states, kings, and allies; he enlisted, too, all the bravest men from Latium, most of whom he knew by actual service, a few only by report; and by earnest invitation he induced even the discharged veterans to accompany him. Though opposed to him, the senate dared refuse him nothing. The additions to the legions it voted with eagerness because it knew that military service was unpopular, and thought that Marius would lose either the means of warfare or the favor of the people. But it entertained such expectations in vain, so ardent a desire of going with Marius came upon almost all. Every one cherished the fancy that he would return home laden with spoil, crowned with victory, or attended with some similar good fortune.

End of the
war, 106 B.C.

Sallust,
Jugurthine
War, 84.

Setting out accordingly to Africa with a somewhat larger force than had been decreed, he arrived in a few days at Utica. There he received the command of the army from Publius Rutilius, the lieutenant of Metellus; for Metellus himself avoided the sight of his successor, that he might not see what he could not endure even to hear mentioned.

Strife
between
Marius and
Sulla.

Plutarch,
Marius, 32.

(For some time Marius and Sulla, his quæstor in the Jugurthine War, had been growing jealous of each other's influence.) Strife between them was delayed by the Social War which suddenly burst upon the state.

This war, diversified by many defeats and by great changes of fortune, took from Marius as much reputation and influence as it gave to Sulla.

At length the Italians yielded, and many persons at Rome were intriguing for the command in the war with Mithridates. . . . Marius, moved by boyish emulation, threw off his old age and infirmities, and went daily to the Campus Martius, where he took his exercises with the young men, and showed that he was still active in arms and sat firm in all the movements of horsemanship, though he was not well-built in his old age, but very fat and heavy.

The assembly voted the command to Marius, who when ready to set out, sent two tribunes to receive the army from Sulla. But Sulla, after encouraging his soldiers, who numbered thirty-five thousand well armed men, led them toward Rome. These troops fell upon the tribunes whom Marius had sent, and murdered them. Marius, on his part, put to death many of the friends of Sulla in Rome, and proclaimed freedom to the slaves if they would join him; but it is said that three only accepted the offer. As Sulla entered the city, Marius made a feeble resistance, and was soon compelled to flee.

Instructions had already been sent to every city, requiring the authorities to search for the fugitive and put him to death when he should be found.

Marius escaped, however, and without a companion or servant fled to Minturnæ. While he was resting there in a secluded house, the magistrates of the city, whose fears were excited by the proclamation of the Roman people, but who hesitated to be the murderers of a man who had been six times consul and had performed so many brilliant exploits, sent a Gaul to kill him with a sword. The story is

Plutarch, *Marius*, 33.
90-88 B.C.

Ib. 34.

(For causes of Social War, see *Rome*, 166; *Ancient History*, 357.)

Flight of Marius,
88 B.C.

(The senate had already given the command to Sulla.)

Plutarch, *Marius*, 35.

Ib. 38.

"I cannot kill Gaius Marius!"

Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 61.

that as the Gaul was approaching the pallet of Marius in the dusk, he thought he saw the gleam and flash of fire darting from the eyes of a hidden man, and that Marius rose from his bed and in a thundering voice shouted to him, "Dare you kill Gaius Marius?"

"On the
ruins of
Carthage."

Plutarch,
Marius, 40.

The Gaul turned and fled out of doors like a madman, exclaiming, "I cannot kill Gaius Marius!" As the magistrates had come to their previous decision with reluctance, so now a kind of religious awe came over them, for they remembered the prophecy given him while he was a boy, that he should be consul seven times.

At this time the governor of Libya was Sextilius, a Roman who had received neither favor nor injury from Marius. It was expected therefore that the governor would help him, at least as far as feelings of pity move a man. But no sooner had Marius landed with a few of his party than an officer met him, and standing right in front of him said:

"The governor Sextilius forbids you, Marius, to set foot on Libya, and he says that if you do, he will support the decree of the senate by treating you as an enemy."

When Marius heard this command, grief and indignation deprived him of the power of speech. He remained silent a long time, looking fixedly at the officer. As the latter asked him what he had to say—what reply he had for the governor—he answered with a deep groan:

"Tell him you have seen Gaius Marius, a fugitive, sitting on the ruins of Carthage."

IV. SULLA

Civil War,
83-82 B.C.

After speedily finishing all his business with Mithridates, Sulla hastened his return to meet his enemies. . . . He came home with a large, well disciplined army, devoted to

him and elated by his exploits. He had abundance of ships, money, and apparatus suitable for all emergencies, and was an object of terror to his enemies. Carbo and Cinna were in such fear of him that they despatched emissaries to all parts of Italy to collect money, soldiers, and supplies.

Appian,
Civil Wars,
i. 76.

Rome, 171.

*Ancient
World*, 421-6.

(In two years of civil war Sulla destroyed the armies of the democratic leaders who opposed him, and then entered Rome all-powerful.) Now he began to make blood flow, and he filled the city with countless deaths. For private enmity many persons were murdered who never had anything to do with Sulla, but he consented to their death to please his partisans.

Sulla's
proscrip-
tions, 82 B.C.

Plutarch,
Sulla, 31.

At last a young man, Gaius Metellus, had the boldness to ask Sulla in the senate-house when there would be an end to their miseries, and how far he would proceed before they could hope to see their misfortunes cease.

"We are not deprecating your vengeance against those whom you have determined to put out of the way," he said, "but we entreat you to relieve of uncertainty those whom you have determined to spare."

Sulla replied,

"I have not yet determined whom I will spare."

"Tell us then," Metellus said, "whom you intend to punish."

Sulla promised to do so. Some say it was not Metellus but Afidius, one of Sulla's flatterers, who made use of the last expression. Without communicating with any magistrate, Sulla immediately proscribed eighty persons. As this act caused a general murmur, he let one day pass, and then proscribed two hundred and twenty more, and again on the third day as many. In an address to the people he said, with reference to these measures, that he had pro-

scribed all he could think of, and as to those who now escaped his memory, he would proscribe them at some future time.

It was a part of the proscription that every man who received and protected a proscribed person should be put to death for his humanity, and there was no exception for brothers, children, or parents. The reward for killing a proscribed person was two talents, whether it was a slave who killed his master or a son who killed his father. But what was considered most unjust of all, he affixed infamy on the sons and grandsons of all the proscribed, and confiscated their property.

Greed the
ruling
motive.

The proscriptions were not confined to Rome but extended to every city in Italy. Neither temple nor hospitable hearth nor father's house was free from murder; but husbands were butchered in the arms of their wives, and children in the embrace of their mothers. The number of those who were massacred through revenge and hatred was nothing compared with those who were murdered for their property. It occurred even to the assassins to notice that the ruin of such a one was due to his large house, another man owed his death to his orchard, and another again to his warm baths. Quintus Aurelius, who never meddled with public affairs, and who was no further concerned about all these calamities except so far as he sympathized with the sufferings of others, happened to come to the Forum, and there he read the names of the proscribed. Finding his own name among them, he exclaimed, "Alas, wretch that I am: my farm at Alba is my persecutor!" He had not gone far before he was murdered by some one who was in search of him.

Meanwhile Marius (adopted son of the great Marius, and a democratic general in the civil war) killed himself to

avoid being taken. Sulla then went to Præneste (which Marius had held) and there began to examine the case of each individual before punishing him; but lacking time for this inquiry, he had all the people brought to one spot to the number of twelve thousand, and ordered them to be massacred, with the exception of one man, an old friend of his, whom he offered to pardon. But the man nobly declared he would never owe his safety to the destroyer of his country; and mingling with the rest of the citizens, he was cut down together with them.

Besides the massacres, other things caused dissatisfaction. Sulla had himself proclaimed dictator, and thus revived this office after an interval of a hundred and twenty years.

Twenty-four axes were carried in front of him, as was customary with dictators—the same number which was borne before the ancient kings; and he had besides a large body-guard. He repealed laws and enacted others. He forbade any one to hold the office of prætor till after he had held that of quæstor, or to be consul before he had been prætor, and he prohibited any man from holding the same office a second time till after the lapse of ten years. He reduced the tribunician power to such an extent that it seemed to be destroyed. He curtailed it by a law which provided that one holding the office of tribune should never afterward hold any other office.

Sulla at Præneste.

Plutarch,
Sulla, 32.

His dictatorship, 82–79 B.C.

Plutarch,
Sulla, 33.

His legislation.

Appian,
Civil Wars,
i. 100.

STUDIES

1. How did the Romans dispose of acquired land? What resulted from these arrangements? What were the provisions of the agrarian law of Tiberius? What was his aim? Who opposed and who supported him, and why? Discuss the legality of the deposition of Octavius.

2. What were the principal laws of Gaius Gracchus? What was the object of each? Describe a Roman road. What are the contents of these quotations from his speeches, and what conditions do they show? Is the comment of Gellius favorable or the opposite? What was the aim of these speeches? What was the general aim of Gaius?

3. Of what elements did Marius make up his army? Describe his conflict with Sulla. Narrate his wanderings. Who are the authors of the selections relating to the Gracchi and Marius? When did each live, and what is his historical value?

4. What are proscriptions? Describe those of Sulla. What were the motives of the men engaged in it? What was the character of Sulla?

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE REVOLUTION: (II) THE MILITARY POWER IN CONFLICT WITH THE REPUBLIC

I. POMPEY

(AMONG the rising officers of the army Gnæus Pompey was most fitted to be the heir of Sulla's policy.) Never did the Roman people give to any other man so strong tokens of affection as to Pompey, or at so early an age, or which grew so rapidly with the good fortune of the receiver, or remained so firm in his misfortunes. The causes of their affection were many: his temperate life, his skill in arms, the persuasiveness of his speech, the integrity of his character, and his affability to every man who came in his way, so that there was no person from whom one could ask a favor with so little pain, whose requests one would more willingly strive to satisfy. In addition to his other endearing qualities, Pompey could do a kindness without seeming to do it, and could receive a favor with dignity.

At first his face, too, contributed greatly to win the good will of the people, and to secure a favorable reception before he opened his mouth. For the sweetness of his expression was mingled with dignity and kindness; and while he was yet in the very bloom of youth, his noble and kingly nature clearly showed itself. The slight falling back of the hair and the expression of the eyes caused people to notice a resemblance to the portraits of Alexander, though in fact the likeness was more talked of than real.

Gnæus
Pompey.

Plutarch,
Pompey, 1.

*Ancient
World*, 428-
34.

His appear-
ance.

Plutarch,
Pompey, 2.

Sertorius.

Appian,
Civil Wars,
i. 108.

Of the Sullan troubles there remained the war with Sertorius, which had been going on for eight years, and which was no easy war for Rome, as it was waged not merely against Spaniards but against the Romans and Sertorius. He had been chosen governor of Spain while he was coöperating with Carbo against Sulla, and after taking the city of Suessa under an armistice, he fled and assumed his governorship. With an army from Italy itself and another raised from the Celtiberians, he drove from Spain the former governors, who to favor Sulla refused to surrender the government to him. He fought nobly, too, against Metellus, whom Sulla had sent to oppose him. After acquiring a reputation for bravery, he enrolled a council of three hundred members from the friends who were with him, and called it the Roman senate in derision of the real one.

76 B.C.

After the death of Sulla, and later of Lepidus (a democratic leader), Sertorius obtained another Italian army which Perpenna, the lieutenant of Lepidus, brought him. It was now supposed that he intended to march against Italy itself, and he would have done so, had not the senate become alarmed and sent another army and general into Spain in addition to the former forces. This general was Pompey, who was still a young man, but renowned for his exploits under Sulla. (Sertorius was himself unconquerable; but when at length he was assassinated, Perpenna, his faithless lieutenant, easily fell a prey to Pompey.)

72 B.C.

The Servile War
(or Gladiatorial War),
73-71 B.C.

Plutarch,
Pompey, 21.

After staying long enough to end the chief disturbances, and to quiet and settle the most dangerous troubles, Pompey led his army back to Italy, where he chanced to arrive at the time the Servile War was at its height.

Spartacus, by birth a Thracian, who had once served

as soldier with the Romans, had since become a prisoner, and had been sold for a gladiator. While he was in the gladiatorial training-school at Capua, he persuaded about seventy of his comrades to strike for their own freedom, rather than for the amusement of spectators. They overcame the guards and ran away. Arming themselves with clubs and daggers, which they took from people on the roads, they sought refuge on Mount Vesuvius. . . . Afterward still greater throngs flocked to Spartacus, till his army numbered seventy thousand men. For them he manufactured weapons and collected apparatus.

Appian,
Civil Wars,
i. 116.

This war, so formidable to the Romans, had now lasted three years. When the election of prætors came on, fear fell upon all, and nobody offered himself as a candidate until Licinius Crassus, a man distinguished among the Romans for birth and wealth, assumed the prætorship, and marched with six legions against Spartacus. . . . Presently he overcame ten thousand insurgents, who were encamped in a detached position, and killed two-thirds of them.

Ib. i. 118.

Believing that the work still to be done against Spartacus was great and severe, the government ordered up as a reënforcement the army of Pompey, which had just arrived from Spain.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 119.

This was the reason why Crassus, the commander, risked a battle, which he gained with the slaughter of twelve thousand three hundred of the enemy. But Fortune, as we may say, adopted Pompey into this success also, for five thousand men who escaped from the battle fell in his way. After destroying all of them, he took the opportunity of writing first to the senate that whereas Crassus had conquered the gladiators in a pitched battle, he had himself pulled up the war by the roots. And this

Plutarch,
Pompey, 21.

was agreeable for the Romans to hear, because of their good will to Pompey.

The pirates.

Florus iii. 6.

Meantime, while the Romans were engaged in different parts of the world, the Cilicians had spread themselves over the sea, and by obstructing commerce and by breaking the bonds of human society, had made the sea as impassable through piracy as it would have been rendered by a tempest.

Plutarch,
Pompey, 24.

And now men who were powerful in wealth and of distinguished birth, and who claimed superior education, began to embark on piratical vessels and to share in their undertakings, as if the occupation were reputable and an object of ambition. In many places were piratical posts and fortified beacons, at which armaments put in. For this peculiar occupation swift light fleets were fitted out with bold vigorous crews and skilful helmsmen. More annoying than their formidable appearance was their arrogant and pompous equipment with golden streamers and purple sails and silvered oars, as if they rioted in their evil practices and prided themselves on them. Their playing on flutes and stringed instruments and their drinking along the whole coast, their seizure of persons high in office, and their holding captured cities for ransom, disgraced the Roman supremacy. The piratical ships had now increased to above a thousand, and the cities seized by them were four hundred.

But their most insulting conduct was of the following nature. Whenever a captive called out that he was a Roman and mentioned his name, they would pretend to be terrified, and would strike their thighs and fall down at his knees praying him to pardon them; and their captive would believe all this to be real, seeing that they were humble and suppliant. Then some would put Roman shoes

on his feet, and others would throw over him a toga, pretending it was done that there might be no mistake about him again. When they had for some time mocked the man in this way, and had their fill of amusement, they would put a ladder down into the sea, and bid him step out and go away with their best wishes for a good journey; and if the man would not go, they pushed him into the water.

Pompey directed his efforts against Cilicia, the source and origin of the war. Neither did the enemy shrink from an engagement with him nor lose confidence in their strength; hard pressed, they were willing to dare. They did no more than meet the first onset, however, for immediately afterward when they saw the beaks of our ships encircling them, they threw down their weapons and oars, and with a great clapping of hands, which with them was a sign of supplication, begged for quarter.

**Pompey
conquers
them,
67 B.C.**

Florus iii. 6.

Rome, 178;
*Ancient
World*, 430 f

Never did we obtain a victory with so little bloodshed. Nor was any nation afterward found so faithful to us,—a state of things secured by the remarkable prudence of the general, who removed this maritime people far from the sight of the sea, and tied them down, as it were, to the inland parts of the country. Thus he recovered the free use of the sea for ships, and at the same time restored to the land its own inhabitants.

In this victory what shall we most admire? Its speed, as it was gained in forty days? Its good fortune, as not a single ship was lost? Or its durable effect, as the Cilicians in consequence were never afterward pirates?

II. CICERO AND CATILINE

At this time Lucius Catiline was a person of importance, of great celebrity, and high birth, but a madman. It was

The
Conspiracy
of Catiline,
63 B.C.

Appian, *Civil
Wars*, ii. 2.

*Ancient
World*, 432 f.

believed that he had killed his own son because of his own love for Aurelia Orestilla, who was not willing to marry a man who had a son. He had been a friend and zealous partisan of Sulla. He had reduced himself to poverty in order to gratify his ambition, but still he was courted by the powerful, both men and women, and he became a candidate for the consulship as a step leading to absolute power.

He confidently expected to be elected, but the suspicion of his ulterior designs defeated him; and Cicero, the most eloquent orator and rhetorician of the period, was chosen instead. Catiline, by way of raillery and contempt for those who voted for Cicero, called him a "New Man" on account of his obscure birth—for so they called those who achieved distinction by their own merits and not by those of their ancestors; and because he was not born in the city, Catiline called him a lodger, by which term they designate those who occupy houses belonging to others.

His methods.

From this time Catiline abstained wholly from politics as not leading quickly and surely to absolute power, but as full of the spirit of contention and malice. He procured much money from many women, who hoped that their husbands would be killed in the uprising; and he formed a conspiracy with a number of senators and knights, and collected together a body of plebeians, foreign residents, and slaves. His leading fellow-conspirators were Cornelius Lentulus and Cethegus, who were then the city prætors. He sent agents throughout Italy to those of Sulla's soldiers who had squandered the gains of their former life of plunder, and who longed for a renewal of violence. For this purpose he sent Gaius Manlius to Fæsula in Etruria, and others to Picenum and Apulia, who enlisted soldiers for him secretly.

All these facts, while they were still secret, were communicated to Cicero by Fulvia, a woman of quality. Her lover, Quintus Curius, who had been expelled from the senate for immorality, and was one of the conspirators, told her in a vain and boastful way that he would soon be in a position of great power. And now a rumor of what was transpiring in Italy was noised about. Accordingly Cicero stationed guards at intervals throughout the city, and sent many of the nobility to the suspected places to watch what was going on.

(Catiline had the boldness to take his usual place in the senate, whereupon Cicero delivered against him a terrible invective. Some extracts from this speech are given below.)

How long, Catiline, will you abuse our patience? How long will your frantic rage baffle the efforts of justice? To what height do you mean to carry your daring insolence? Are you not daunted by the nightly watch posted to secure the Palatine Hill? or by the city guards? or by the fear of the people? or by the union of all the wise and worthy citizens? or by the senate's assembling in this place of strength? or by the looks and faces of all here present? Do you not see that all your designs are brought to light? that the senators are thoroughly informed of your conspiracy? that they are acquainted with what you did last night and the night before, your place of meeting, the company you summoned, and the measures you concerted? Alas for our degeneracy! alas for the depravity of the times; the senate is informed of this whole plot, the consul sees it, yet the traitor lives. Lives, did I say? He even comes into the senate; he shares in the public deliberations; he marks us out with his eye for destruction. We, bold in our country's cause, think we have sufficiently

The
conspiracy
divulged.

Appian,
Civil Wars,
ii. 3.

Cicero
denounces
Catiline.

Cicero,
Against Cati-
line, i.

done our duty to the state, if we can but escape his rage and deadly darts. Long ago, Catiline, ought the consul to have ordered your execution, and to have directed upon your own head the ruin you have long been meditating against us all. . . .

All hate
Catiline.

For my part, were my slaves to discover such a dread of me as your fellow-citizens express of you, I should think it necessary to abandon my own house; and do you hesitate to leave the city? Were I even wrongfully suspected, and thereby rendered obnoxious to my countrymen, I would sooner withdraw myself from public view than be beheld with looks full of reproach and indignation. And do you, whose conscience tells you that you are the object of a universal, just, and long-merited hatred, delay a moment to escape from the looks and presence of a people whose eyes and senses can no longer endure you among them? Should your parents dread and hate you, and resist all your efforts to appease them, you would doubtless withdraw from their sight.

His country
pleads with
him.

But now your country, the common parent of us all, hates and dreads you, and has long regarded you as a parricide, intent on the purpose of destroying her. And will you neither respect her authority, submit to her advice, nor stand in awe of her power? Thus does she reason with you, Catiline; thus does she, though silent, in some manner address you: "Not an enormity has happened these many years but has had you for its author; not a crime has been perpetrated without you. The murder of so many of our citizens, the oppression and the plunder of our allies has through you alone escaped punishment, though carried on with unrestrained violence. You have found means not only to trample on law and justice but even to subvert and destroy them. Though this past

behavior of yours was beyond all patience, yet I have borne with it as I could; but now to be in continual fear of you alone, on every alarm to tremble at the name of Catiline, to see no plots formed against me which speak not of you as their author, is altogether insupportable. Begone, then, and rid me of my present terror; that if just, I may avoid ruin; if groundless, I may at length cease to fear! . . .

It is now a long time, senators, that we have trod amid the dangers and machinations of this conspiracy; but I know not how it comes to pass, that the full maturity of all those crimes, and of this long-ripening rage and insolence, has now broken out in the period of my consulship. Should he alone be removed from this powerful band of traitors, it may abate perhaps our fears and anxieties for a while, but the danger will still remain, and continue lurking in the veins and vitals of the republic. . . . Wherefore, senators, let the wicked retire; let them separate themselves from the honest; let them gather in one place. As I have often said, let a wall be between them and us. Let them cease to lay snares for the consul in his own house, to beset the tribunal of the city prætor, to invest the senate-house with armed ruffians, and prepare fire-balls and torches for burning the city. In brief, let every man's sentiments regarding the republic be inscribed on his forehead.

This I engage for and promise, senators, that by the diligence of the consuls, the weight of your authority, the courage and firmness of the Roman knights, and the unanimity of all who are honest, Catiline shall be driven forth from the city, and you shall behold all his treasons detected, exposed, crushed, and punished. With these omens of all prosperity to the republic but of destruction

**All traitors
should leave
the city.**

**May Jupiter
save the
state and
destroy its
enemies!**

to yourself, Catiline, and to those who have joined themselves with you in all kinds of parricide, go your way to this impious and abominable war. And do thou, Jupiter, whose religion was established with the foundation of this city—thou whom we truly call the Stayer, the support and prop of this empire—drive this man and his associates from thy altars and temples, from the houses and walls of the city, from the lives and fortunes of us all; and destroy with eternal punishments, in life and death, all the haters of good men, all the enemies of their country, all the plunderers of Italy, now joined in this detestable league and partnership of villainy!

The
"Father
of his
Country."

(The traitor fled from Rome, and was soon afterward defeated and killed in battle. Meantime Cicero had arrested and put to death some chiefs of the conspiracy who remained in the city.)

Appian, *Civil Wars*, ii. 7.

Such was the end of the uprising of Catiline, which brought the city into extreme peril. Cicero, who had hitherto been distinguished only for eloquence, was now in everybody's mouth as a man of action, and was considered unquestionably the saviour of his country on the eve of its destruction. For this reason the thanks of the assembly were bestowed upon him amid general acclamations. At the instance of Cato the people saluted him Father of his Country.

III. CÆSAR'S CONSULSHIP; HIS CAMPAIGNS IN GAUL

His consulship, 59 B.C.

Suetonius,
Julius Cæsar, 20.

After entering upon his consulship, he introduced a new regulation, that the daily acts of the senate and of the assemblies should be committed to writing and published. . . .

When he presented to the people a bill for the division of some public lands, the other consul opposed him. There-

upon Cæsar violently drove his colleague from the Forum. Next day in the senate the insulted consul complained of his ill treatment; but no one had the courage to bring the matter forward or move a censure, which had often been done in the case of less important outrages. Cæsar's colleague was so much dispirited, therefore, that till the expiration of his office he never stirred from home, and did nothing but issue edicts to obstruct the other consul's proceedings.

*Ancient
World, 434-7.*

From that time, therefore, Cæsar had the sole management of public affairs; so that some wags, when they signed any document as witnesses, did not add "in the consulship of Cæsar and Bibulus," but "of Julius and Cæsar," putting the same person down twice under his name and surname. The following verses, too, were repeated with reference to this matter:

Nothing was done in Bibulus' year;
No, Cæsar only was consul here.

Such was the course of Cæsar's life before his Gallic campaigns. But the period of the wars which he now carried on, and of the expedition by which he subdued Gaul, is a new beginning in his career and the opening of a new course of life and action, in which he showed himself a soldier and a general inferior to none who have gained admiration as leaders of men. For whether we compare Cæsar's exploits with those of the Fabii, the Scipios, and the Metelli, or with those of his contemporaries or immediate predecessors,—Sulla and Marius and both the Luculli or even Pompey himself, whose fame, high as the heavens, was blossoming at that time in every kind of military excellence,—Cæsar will be found to surpass them all.

**His cam-
paigns in
Gaul, 58-50
B.C.**

Plutarch,
Cæsar, 15.

His superiority over one appears in the difficulties of the

country in which he carried on his campaigns, over another in the extent of country subdued, over a third in the number and courage of the enemy whom he defeated, over another again in the savage manners and treacherous character of the nations which he civilized, over a fourth in clemency and mildness to the conquered, over another again in his donations and liberality to his soldiers; and in a word, his superiority over all other generals appears in the number of battles which he fought and of enemies whom he slew.

For in somewhat less than ten years, during which he carried on his campaigns in Gaul, he took by storm eight hundred cities, and subdued three hundred nations, and fought at different times against three millions of men, of whom he destroyed one million in battle and took as many prisoners.

The druids.

Cæsar,
Gallic War,
vi. 13.

Throughout Gaul are two orders of men who have rank and dignity; for the common people are held almost in the condition of slaves; they dare do nothing of themselves, and take no part in deliberation. The greater number, when pressed by debt or by heavy taxes or oppressed by the more powerful, give themselves up in vassalage to the nobles, who possess over them the same rights without exception as masters exercise over their slaves. Of these two orders of nobles one is that of the druids, the other that of the knights. The former are engaged in religious duties; they conduct the public and private sacrifices and interpret all matters of religion.

**They are
the judges.**

To this class a large number of young men resort for instruction and all hold the druids in high honor. For these priests decide almost all controversies, public and private; and if any crime has been perpetrated, if murder has been committed, or if there is any dispute about in-

heritance or about boundaries, these same persons decide it. They decree rewards and punishments; and if any one either publicly or privately refuses to submit to their decision, they interdict him from the sacrifices. This among them is the heaviest punishment. Those who have been thus interdicted are esteemed impious and criminal: all shun them and avoid their society and conversation, lest they receive some evil from the contact; neither is justice administered to them when they seek it, nor is any dignity bestowed on them.

Over all these druids one presides, who possesses supreme authority among them. On his death any individual who is preëminent in dignity succeeds; but if many are equal, the election is made by the votes of the druids; sometimes they even contend in arms for the presidency. The members of the class gather at a fixed period of the year in a consecrated place in the territory of the Carnutes, which is considered the central region of the whole of Gaul. Hither all who have disputes assemble from every quarter, and submit to their decrees and decisions. This institution is supposed to have been devised in Britain, and to have been brought over from there to Gaul; and now those who wish to gain a more accurate knowledge of that system go thither for the purpose of studying it.

Their organization.

Whatever sums of money the husbands have received as dowry with their wives, they estimate, and add the same amount from their own estates. An account is kept of this whole sum and the profits are laid by; so that the one who survives the other may receive the portion of both, together with the profits. Husbands have power of life and death over their wives as well as over their children. When the father of a family of uncommonly high rank has died, his kinsmen assemble; and if the circumstances of his death

The family.

Cæsar,
Gallic War,
vi. 19.

are suspicious, they investigate the conduct of the wives in the same way as that of slaves; and if proof is obtained, they put the wives to severe torture and kill them.

Funerals.

In view of the state of civilization among the Gauls, their funerals are magnificent and costly. As one of the funeral rites they cast into the fire all those possessions of the deceased, including living creatures, which they suppose to have been dear to him in his life. Until lately slaves and clients who were known to have been beloved by the deceased were burned with his body at the close of the funeral rites.

IV. CÆSAR AS DICTATOR

Honors to Cæsar.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, ii. 106.

Ancient World, 439-42.

After ending the civil wars Cæsar hastened to Rome, honored and feared as no one had ever been before. All kinds of honors were devised for his gratification without stint, even such as were more than human,—sacrifices, games, statues in all the temples and public places, by every tribe, by all the provinces, and by the kings in alliance with Rome. His portrait was painted in various forms, and in some cases crowned with oak as that of the saviour of his country. . . . He was proclaimed the Father of his Country and chosen dictator for life, and his person was declared sacred and inviolable. It was decreed that he should transact business on a throne of ivory and gold; that he should always perform his sacerdotal functions in triumphal dress; that each year the city should celebrate the days on which he had won his victories; that every five years the priests and Vestal virgins should offer up public prayers for his safety; and that the magistrates immediately after their inauguration should take an oath not to oppose any of Cæsar's decrees. In honor of his *gens* the name of the month Quintilis was changed to

July. Many temples were decreed to him as to a god, and one was dedicated in common to him and the goddess Clemency, who were represented as clasping hands.

Thus while they feared his power they besought his mercy. Some proposed to give him the title of king, but when he learned of their purpose he forbade it with threats, for he said it was an inauspicious name by reason of the curse of their ancestors. He dismissed the pretorian cohorts which had served as his bodyguard during the wars, and he showed himself with the ordinary public attendants only. . . .

He received all the honors conferred upon him excepting the ten-year consulship. As consuls for the ensuing year he designated himself and Antony, his master of horse, and he appointed Lepidus master of horse in place of Antony. Lepidus at this time was governor of Spain, but was administering his province through friends. Cæsar recalled all exiles excepting those who had been banished for some grave offence. He pardoned his enemies, and many of those who had fought against him he forthwith advanced to the yearly magistracies or to the command of provinces and of armies. The wearied people therefore especially hoped he would restore the republic to them, as Sulla did after he had grasped the same power. But in this respect they were disappointed.

While the talk about the kingship was going on, and just before a session of the senate, Cassius met Brutus, and seizing him by the hand, said, "What shall we do in the senate-house if Cæsar's flatterers propose a decree to make him king?" "I shall not be there," Brutus replied. Then Cassius asked him further, "What if we are summoned there as prætors, what shall we do then, my good Brutus?" "I will defend my country to the death," he answered.

His clemency.

Appian,
Civil Wars,
ii. 107.

(Pretorian cohorts, companies of soldiers who guarded the *prætorium*, or general's tent.)

The conspiracy.

Appian,
Civil Wars,
ii. 113.

(They were prætors as well as senators, and their service

as magistrates might be needed at the meeting.)

Cassius embraced him, saying, "Which of the nobility will you allow to share your thoughts?" . . . Thus did they disclose to each other what they had been privately thinking about for a long time. Each of them tested those of their own and of Cæsar's friends whom they considered the most courageous of either faction.

Ib. 114.

When they thought they had a sufficient number, and that it would not be wise to divulge the plot to any more, they pledged each other without oaths or sacrifices, yet no one changed his mind or betrayed the secret. They sought a time and place. Time was pressing because Cæsar was to depart on his campaign four days hence and would then have a bodyguard of soldiers. They chose the senate as the place, believing that though all the senators did not know of it beforehand, they would join heartily when they saw the deed.

The conspirators kill Cæsar, 44 B.C.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, ii. 117.

The conspirators had left Trebonius, one of their number, to engage Antony in conversation at the door. The others with concealed daggers stood like friends around Cæsar as he sat in his chair. Then one of them, Tullius Cimber, came up in front of him and petitioned him for the recall of his brother, who had been banished. When Cæsar answered that the matter must be deferred, Cimber seized hold of his purple robe as though still urging the petition, and pulled it away so as to expose his neck; at the same time he exclaimed, "Friends, what are you waiting for?" Then Casca, who was standing over Cæsar's head, first drove a dagger at his throat, but missed the aim and wounded him in the breast. Cæsar snatched his toga from Cimber, seized Casca's hand, sprang from his chair, turned round and hurled Casca with great violence. While Cæsar was in this position, another one stabbed him with a dagger in the side . . . Cassius wounded him

in the face, Brutus smote him in the thigh, and Bucolianus between the shoulder-blades.

With rage and outcries Cæsar turned now upon one and now upon another like a wild animal, but after receiving the wound from Brutus he despaired, and veiling himself with his robe, he fell prostrate at the foot of Pompey's statue. After he had fallen they continued their attack till he received twenty-three wounds.

When the will of Cæsar was opened, and the people learned that he had given a handsome present to every Roman, and they saw the body as it was carried through the Forum, disfigured with wounds, the multitude no longer kept within the bounds of propriety and order, but taking from the Forum benches, lattices, and tables, they heaped them about the corpse, and set fire to the pile and burned the body on the spot. Then seizing the flaming pieces of wood, they ran to the houses of the conspirators to fire them, and others hurried about the city in all directions in search of the murderers to seize and tear them to pieces.

He died in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and was ranked among the gods, not only by a formal decree but also in the belief of the people. For during the first games which Augustus, his heir, consecrated to his memory, a comet blazed seven days together, rising always about eleven o'clock; and the people thought it was the soul of Cæsar now received into heaven.

That mighty superhuman spirit, which had accompanied him through life, followed him even in death; the avenger of his murder, it ran through every land and sea, to hunt and track down his assassins till not one of them was left—it pursued even those who in any way whatever had put their hand to the deed or had shared in the plot.

The funeral.

Plutarch,
Cæsar, 68.

His spirit.

Suetonius,
Julius
Cæsar, 68.

Plutarch,
Cæsar, 69.

V. THE MUNICIPAL LAW OF JULIUS CÆSAR

Care of the streets.*Julian Munic. Law, 7.*

This law was probably passed in 46 B.C. It is preserved in an *inscription*. The translation is by Dr. R. R. Blews.

With regard to those streets which are or shall be in the city of Rome or within a radius of one mile from the city of Rome,—wherever this zone shall be continually built up,—the owner of any building before which any such street shall run, shall maintain the same to the satisfaction of the ædile, to whom this part of the city shall have been assigned in accordance with this law; and that ædile shall see to it that all persons, before whose buildings any streets run, which they shall be obliged by this law severally to maintain, shall severally maintain the same to his satisfaction; and he shall see to it that no water remains standing in any such place which would hinder the public from the convenient use of the street.

Division of the city among the ædiles.*Ib. 8.*

The curule ædiles and the plebeian ædiles who are now in office, and whoever after the passing of this law shall have been made or created ædiles or shall have entered upon this office, shall, within the next five days after they shall have been elected or shall have entered upon this office, decide either by agreement or by lot in what part of the city each one of them shall have charge of the repairing and paving of the streets in the city of Rome or within a mile of the city of Rome, and shall have supervision of that work. In those places which shall be in the district thus assigned to each one of the ædiles in accordance with this law, he shall have supervision of the repairing and maintenance of the streets, as shall be required in accordance with this law.

Contracts for maintaining the streets.*Ib. 11.*

In the case of a street for the maintenance of which a contract in conformity with this law must be let, the ædile whose duty it shall be to let the contract for the maintenance of this street shall let out the same through the

urban quæstor or whoever shall be in charge of the treasury: the contractor shall agree to maintain the street to the satisfaction of him who shall have caused the contract for the street to have been let out. The urban quæstor or whoever shall be in charge of the treasury shall cause the amount of money for which each street shall have been let out to be given or assigned to the contractor, to whom under the terms of the lease it should have been given, or to his heir.

Any one before whose building a sidewalk shall run, shall keep the same properly paved with unworn stones over the whole space in front of the building, to the satisfaction of that ædile who under this law, shall have charge of the streets in that district. **Sidewalks.**

Ib. 13.

After the next Calends of January no one shall lead or guide a vehicle during the day, between sunrise and the twelfth hour of the day, in any streets which are or shall be within the city of Rome, or within those outlying districts which shall be built up continuously with the city, except in the case of anything which ought to be brought or conveyed for use in building temples of the immortal gods or for use in carrying on public works, or unless any of those things, for the demolition of which a contract has been let at public expense, ought to be removed at the public expense from the city or from the districts aforesaid; and in these cases permission to lead or drive vehicles shall be given under this law to specified persons for specified reasons. **The use of vehicles in the streets.**

Ib. 14.

Nothing is enacted by this law by virtue of which vehicles may not be led or driven in the city in the day-time for the following reasons and on the following days: the days on which the Vestal virgins, the rex sacrorum, and the flamens shall be obliged to ride in carriages within **Exceptions to the rule above given.**

Ib. 15.

Ancient World, 333 f.

the city on account of public religious rites of the Roman people; whatever vehicles must be driven because of a triumph on the day on which any one shall celebrate a triumph; whatever vehicles it shall be necessary to lead or drive either because of games which shall be held at public expense in Rome or within one mile of the city of Rome, or in the processions at the Circensian games.

**Municipal
magistrates.**

*Julian
Munic. Law,*
23.

**Qualifications
for office.**

The chief
magistrates
were a "board
of two"—
duoviri—like
the consuls,
or less com-
monly a
"board of
four"—
quattuoviri.

Councillor,
decurion,
conscriptus—
all applied to
members of
the municip-
al council—
"alderman."
Sesterce,
about 5 cents.

Upon the expiration of one year after the next Calends of January no one who is or shall be less than thirty years of age shall seek, accept, or hold the office of duovir or quattuorvir or any other magistracy in a municipium, a colony, or a prefecture, unless he shall have served three years in the legionary cavalry or six years in the legionary infantry,—such military service to have been performed in camp or in a province during the greater part of each year or during half years, two of which may be properly credited to him as equal to a whole year, with whatever time shall properly be credited to him in accordance with laws or resolutions of the plebs,—or unless he shall be exempt from military service in accordance with laws or resolutions of the plebs or in execution of a treaty by reason of which he cannot properly be required to serve against his will. Nor shall any one whose occupation shall be that of a public crier or that of an undertaker's assistant or that of an undertaker,—so long as he shall be engaged in any of these occupations,—seek, accept, hold, or have the office of duovir, or quattuorvir, or any other magistracy in a municipium, a colony, or a prefecture; nor shall he serve or give his vote as a councillor or a decurion or a conscriptus in that place. If any one of those who are mentioned above, shall have acted in contravention of these provisions, he shall be liable to pay to the people a fine of 50,000 sesterces; and who-

ever wishes shall have the right to enter suit for this money.

Whoever in the municipia, colonies, or prefectures of Roman citizens,—whatever municipia, colonies, or prefectures, there are or shall be in Italy,—shall hold the highest magistracy or the highest office there at the time when the censor or any other magistrate is about to take the census of the people at Rome, he, within the next sixty days after he shall know that the census of the people is to be taken at Rome, shall take the census of all the members of his municipium, colony, or prefecture who shall be Roman citizens; and he shall cause them to declare under oath their gentile names, personal names, fathers or patrons, tribes, family names, how old each one of them is and the amount of his wealth, in accordance with the formula of the census which shall have been set forth at Rome by him who at that time shall be about to take the census of the people.

Census-taking in the municipia.

Ib. 28.

He shall see that all these data are entered in the public records of his municipality; and he shall send these reports to those who shall take the census at Rome, through delegates whom the majority of the decurions or conscripti shall have elected by vote to be delegates and envoys for this purpose at the time when the matter was taken into consideration; and not less than sixty days before the day when those who take the census at Rome (whoever they may be) have completed the census of the people, he shall see to it that the delegates appear before them and present the reports of that municipium, colony, or prefecture; and the censor or whatever other magistrate shall take the census of the people, within the next five days after the arrival of the delegates from that municipium, colony, or prefecture, shall receive in good

Records of the census.

Ib.

faith those reports of the census which shall be given by those delegates, and he shall see that their contents are copied in the public records and that these records are stored in the same place as the other public records in which the census of the people shall have been registered.

VI. OCTAVIUS

His birth.

Suetonius,
Augustus, 5.

(Augustus is
a title given
Octavius by
the senate.)

*Ancient
World*, 442 ff.

(Octavius, afterward named) Augustus, was born in the consulship of Marcus Tullius Cicero and Gaius Antonius, a little before sunrise on the ninth day before the Calends of October, on Oxhead Street, Palatine Hill, in the place where now stands a chapel built a little after his death and dedicated to him.

Ib. 6.

To this day his nursery may be seen in a villa belonging to the family, in the suburbs of Velitræ. It is a very small room, much like a pantry. Into this place no person dares intrude unless necessary, and then one enters with great devotion, for a belief has long prevailed that those who rashly intrude are seized with great horror and fear. This belief has recently been confirmed by a remarkable incident. A new inhabitant of the house took up his lodging in that apartment, either by chance or to try the truth of the report. In the course of the night, however, a few hours after retiring, he was thrown out by some sudden violence, he knew not what, and was found stupefied, lying in his coverlet in front of the chamber door.

His early life.

Suetonius,
Augustus, 8.

When only four years old, Octavius lost his father; and in his twelfth year he pronounced a funeral oration in praise of his grandmother Julia. Four years later, when Octavius put on the dress of manhood, Cæsar in his triumph over Africa honored him with several military rewards, though on account of his youth he had taken no part in the war.

Octavius was the son of the daughter of Cæsar's sister. He was appointed master of Cæsar's horse for one year, for Cæsar at times made this a yearly office, passing it round among his friends. While still a young man, he was sent by Cæsar to Apollonia on the Adriatic coast to be educated and trained in the art of war, that he might accompany Cæsar on his expeditions. . . .

Appian, *Civil Wars*, iii. 9.

At the end of a six months' sojourn in Apollonia, he received news one evening that Cæsar had been killed in the senate-house by those who were dearest to the dictator, and who were at the time the most powerful persons under him.

After the death of Cassius and Brutus, Octavius returned to Italy. Antony proceeded to Asia, where he met Cleopatra, queen of Egypt. . . .

Antony and Cleopatra.

Appian, *Civil Wars*, v. 1.

Florus iv. 11.

After his expedition against the Parthians, he was disgusted with war and lived at ease. In this period he fell in love with Cleopatra, and as if his affairs were quite prosperous, he enjoyed himself in the queen's company.

The Egyptian woman demanded of the drunken general, as the price of her love, nothing less than the Roman empire. This gift Antony promised her, as though the Romans were easier to conquer than the Parthians. He therefore aspired to the sovereignty, not secretly, but forgetting his country, his name, toga, and fasces, and degenerating wholly in thought, feeling, and dress, into a monster. In his hand was a golden sceptre, and a simitar by his side. His robe was of purple clasped with enormous jewels; and he wore a diadem that he might dally with the queen as a king.

(Or scimitar, an Oriental sword.)

At the first report of these proceedings, Cæsar (Octavianus) had crossed the sea from Brundisium to meet the approaching war. . . . We had more than four hundred

The battle off Actium, 31 B.C.

vessels, the enemy about two hundred, but the size of the enemy's ships made up for their inferiority in number. With from six to nine banks of oars, mounted with towers and high decks, they moved along like castles and cities; the seas groaned under them and the wind was fatigued.

Their great size, however, was their destruction. Cæsar's vessels had from three to six banks of oars but no more. Ready for all that necessity required, whether for charging, retreating, or wheeling round, they attacked several of those heavy vessels at a time. In these encounters Cæsar's men hurled missiles and rammed with the beaks of their ships; they threw fire-brands into the enemy's vessels and dispersed them at pleasure. The greatness of the enemy's force was shown by nothing so much as by what happened after the victory. Shattered in the engagement, the vast fleet spread the spoils of Arabs, Sabæans, and a thousand other Asiatic nations over the whole face of the deep. The waves, driven onward by the winds, continually threw up purple and gold on the shore.

The queen began the flight; she made off into the open sea with her gilded vessel and sails of purple. Antony immediately followed.

But Cæsar pursued hard on their track. . . . First Antony raised his sword against himself. The queen, falling at Cæsar's feet, tempted his eyes in vain, for her charms were too weak to overcome the prince's self-restraint. Her suit was not for life, which he offered her, but for a portion of the kingdom. As she despaired of obtaining this from Cæsar, and saw that she was reserved for his triumph, she took advantage of the negligence of her guard, and withdrew into a mausoleum, as the sepulchre of a king is called. There after putting on her best apparel . . . she placed herself by her dear Antony in a coffin filled with rich per-

The end of
Antony and
Cleopatra.

fumes, and applying serpents to her veins, she died a death-like sleep.

VII. THE POETRY OF THE AGE

TELL MY SISTER

Soldier, that fliest from thy comrade's fall,
Though weak and wounded 'neath Perusia's wall;
Heed not my dying groan, nor weep for me,
For I am but a soldier like to thee.
But to my sister the sad tale deplore—
So mayst thou glad thy parent's heart once more—
How Gallus 'scaped from Cæsar's armed bands,
To fall unhonored here by felon's hands.
If o'er the Tuscan wold she haply see
Some scattered bones, 'tis all she'll find of me.

"I wish I
had died in
battle."

Propertius i.
21.

(Perusia,
Etruria, was
besieged by
Cæsar
Octavianus,
41-40 B.C.)

THE ORIGIN OF BELIEF IN THE GODS

And now what cause has spread over great nations the worship of the divinities of the gods, and filled towns with altars, and led to the performance of stated rites,—rites now in fashion on solemn occasions and in solemn places, from which even now is implanted in mortals a shuddering awe which raises new temples of the gods over the whole earth, and prompts men to crowd them on festive days, all this is not so difficult to explain in words.

"Why build
altars and
temples?"

Lucretius,
*On the Na-
ture of the
World*, 5.

In sooth the races of mortal men would see in waking mind glorious forms, would see them in sleep of yet more marvellous size of body. To these forms they would attribute sense, because they seemed to move their limbs and to utter lofty words suitable to their glorious aspect and surpassing powers. And men would attribute to them life everlasting, because their face would ever appear and their form abide; yes, and yet without all this reasoning, because men would not believe that beings possessed of such powers

"Our
religion
rests (x) on
dreams,

could lightly be overcome by any force. They would believe such beings to be preëminent in bliss, because none of them was ever troubled with fear of death, and because at the same time in sleep persons would see them perform many miracles, without feeling fatigue from the effort.

(2) on
observing
the activi-
ties of
nature."

Again men would see the system of heaven and the different seasons of the year come round in regular succession, and could not find out by what causes this was done; therefore they would seek a refuge in handing over all things to the gods, and in supposing all things to be guided by their nod. And they placed in heaven the abodes and realms of the gods, because night and moon are seen to roll through heaven,—moon, day, and night, and night's austere constellations, and night-wandering meteors of the sky, and flying bodies of flame, clouds, sun, rains, snow, winds, lightnings, hail, and rapid rumblings, and loud threatening thunder-claps.

"Why
do we wor-
ship?"

O hapless race of men, when they charged the gods with such acts and coupled with them bitter wrath! what groanings did they then beget for themselves, what wounds for us, what tears for their children's children! No act is it of piety to be often seen, with veiled head, to look to a stone and approach every altar and fall prostrate on the ground and spread out the palms before the statues of the gods and sprinkle the altars with much blood of beasts and link vow on vow, but rather to be able to view all things with mind at peace.

"Doubts
that trouble
us."

For when we turn our gaze on the heavenly quarters of the great upper world and ether, fast above the glittering stars, and direct our thoughts to the courses of the sun and moon, then into our breasts burdened with other ills, that fear as well begins to exalt its reawakened head, the fear that we may haply find the power of the gods to be un-

limited, able to wheel the bright stars in their unvaried motion; for lack of power to solve the question troubles the mind with doubts, whether there was ever a birth-time of the world, and whether likewise there is to be any end; how far the walls of the world can endure this strain of restless motion; or whether gifted by the grace of the gods with an everlasting existence, they may glide on through a never-ending tract of time and defy the strong powers of immeasurable ages.

Again who is there whose mind does not shrink into itself with fear of the gods, whose limbs do not cower with terror, when the parched earth rocks with the appalling thunder-stroke and rattlings run through the great heaven? Do not peoples and nations quake, and proud monarchs shrink into themselves, smitten with fear of the gods, lest for any foul transgression or overweening word the heavy time of reckoning has arrived at its fulness? When too the utmost fury of the headstrong wind passes over the sea, and sweeps over its waters does not the commander of the fleet, together with his mighty legions and elephants, draw near with vows, to seek the mercy of the gods and ask in prayer with fear and trembling a lull in the winds, and propitious gales? But all in vain, for often caught up in the furious hurricane, he is borne none the less to the shoals of death; so constantly does some hidden power trample on human grandeur, and is seen to tread under its heel, and make sport for itself, the renowned rods and cruel axes.

Religious
fear.

Again when the whole earth rocks under their feet, and towns tumble with the shock, or doubtfully threaten to fall, what wonder that mortal men abase themselves and make over to the gods, in things here on earth, high prerogatives and marvellous powers, sufficient to govern all things?

MANKIND'S FIRST MUSIC

An imitation
of nature.

Imitating with the mouth the clear notes of birds was in use, and gave pleasure to the ear, long before men were able to sing in tune smooth-running verses. And the whistlings of the zephyr through the hollow reeds first taught peasants to blow into hollow stalks. Then step by step they learned sweet plaintive ditties, which the pipe pours forth when pressed by the fingers of the players—heard through pathless woods and forests and lawns, through the unfrequented haunts of shepherds and abodes of unearthly calm. These things would soothe and gratify their minds when they were sated with food; for then all things of this kind are welcome.

Often therefore stretched in groups on the soft grass beside a stream of water, under the boughs of a high tree, they at no great cost would pleasantly refresh their bodies,—above all when the weather smiled and the seasons of the year painted the green grass with flowers. Then went round the jest, the tale, the peals of merry laughter; for the peasant muse was then in its glory; then frolic mirth would prompt to entwine head and shoulders with garlands plaited with flowers and leaves, and to advance in the dance out of step, and move the limbs clumsily and with clumsy foot beat mother earth; this would cause smiles and peals of merry laughter, because all these things then, from their greater novelty, were in high repute.

THE MAN WITH WHITE TEETH

'Don't
smile to
show your
teeth.'

Because Egnatius' teeth are nicely white,
To grin and show them is his sole delight.
If haply at some trial he appear,
Where eloquence commands the gushing tear,

He grins.—If, at a pile, the duteous son,
The childless mother weeps, for ever gone,
He grins.—In short, whate'er the time or place,
Do as he may, the grin still marks his face:
'Tis his disease; and speaking as I feel,
I cannot call it decent or genteel.

Catullus, 39.
(A funeral
pile.)

TO MY FARM

(Complaining of Sextius' Trashy Oration)

Whether, my farm, the Sabine bounds
Or Tibur hold thy peaceful grounds;
—For those who love me like a friend
Call thee of Tibur; those who come
To vex my pride, with any sum
That thou art Sabine will contend.—

"Is my
farm at
Tibur or in
Sabina?"

Catullus, 44.

But whether that, or truly classed
'Mong Tibur's lands, well pleased I've passed
Some days in thy sequestered seat.
Thou from my loaded breast hast driven
A cough my stomach's sins had given,
Deserved by many a costly treat.

And when I plainly hoped to feed
As Sextius' guest, my host would read
His speech 'gainst Attius, made of old.
'Twas full of poison and disease;
It made me shiver, made me sneeze,
And gave me a bad cough and cold.

"His speech
gave me a
cold."

At length I fled into thy breast;
And there with medicine and rest
Have cured myself in little time:
So now in health and spirits gay,
My warmest thanks to thee I pay,
Who 'thus hast done away my crime.

And when I e'er again shall go
 To hear his works, may they bestow
 Their cough and cold, not on my head,
 But upon Sextius' self, who ne'er
 Asks me to sup, but when the fare
 Is hearing his own nonsense read!

STUDIES

1. Why were the Romans fond of Pompey? To what political party did he belong? Was he or Sertorius the greater general? What light do the wars with Spartacus and the pirates throw on the condition of the Roman government?

2. Give an account of Catiline's conspiracy. Describe his character. What are the points made by Cicero in the speech partly quoted? What reward did he receive for his patriotic energy?

3. Who are the authors of these selections on Cæsar, and what is the value of each for history? What was the policy of Cæsar as consul? Give an account of the Gallic druids; the Gallic family and funeral customs.

4. What honors were voted Cæsar as dictator? What was his policy in this office? Give an account of the conspiracy. What estimate of his character do we gain from these selections?

5. What provisions were made for the care of the streets by the Julian municipal law? What magistrates had charge of such matters? What restriction was placed on the use of vehicles? What were the qualifications of the higher municipal magistrates? What regulations were made concerning the census? What was done with the census records?

6. Give an account of the family and early life of Octavius (Augustus). How did he win the battle off Actium?

7. Explain the poem, "*Tell my Sister*." Who was the author (cf. ch. xxviii)?

8. Who was Lucretius (cf. ch. xxviii)? What in his opinion was the origin of the religion of his countrymen? Does he consider their religion good or bad? What doubts troubled his countrymen? What caused religious fear? What in his opinion was the first music of mankind?

9. Who was Catullus (cf. ch. xxviii)? What was wrong about the smile of Egnatius? Why did the poet prefer Tibur to the Sabine country? What quality of his friends' oration gave the poet a cold? How did he recover from it?

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE FOUNDING OF THE PRINCIPATE; AUGUSTUS AND TIBERIUS

I. PERSONAL TRAITS OF AUGUSTUS

His diet.

Suetonius,
Augustus, 76.

*Ancient
World*, 451 ff.

HE ate sparingly (for I must not omit even this), and commonly used a plain diet. He was particularly fond of coarse bread, small fishes, new cheese made of cow's milk, and green figs of the sort which bear fruit twice a year. He did not wait for supper, but took food at any time and in any place when he had an appetite. The following passages relative to this subject, I have transcribed from his letters. "I ate a little bread and some small dates in my carriage." Again: "On returning home from the pontifical palace in my litter, I ate an ounce of bread and a few raisins." Again: "Not even a Jew, my dear Tiberius, ever keeps such strict fast on the Sabbath as I have to-day; for while in the bath, and after the first hour of the night, I only ate two biscuits before I began to be rubbed with oil." From this great indifference about his diet, he sometimes supped by himself, before the banquet began or after it had finished, and would not touch a morsel at table with his guests.

Use of wine.

Suet. *Aug.* 77.

He was by nature extremely sparing in the use of wine. Cornelius Nepos says that he used to drink only three times at supper in the camp at Mutina; and when he indulged himself the most, he never exceeded a pint. . . .

During the whole course of his life, he suffered at times dangerous fits of sickness, especially after the conquest of

Cantabria, when he was reduced to such a condition that he was obliged to undergo a desperate and doubtful method of cure; for warm applications having no effect, Antonius Musa directed the use of those which were cold. He was likewise subject to fits of sickness at stated times every year; for about his birthday he was commonly a little indisposed. In the beginning of spring he was attacked by an inflation of the midriff; and when the wind was southerly, with a cold in his head. By all these complaints, his constitution was so shattered that he could not easily bear either heat or cold.

Nearly always ill.

Ib. 81.

The eyes of Augustus were bright and piercing; and he was willing to have people think there was divine vigor in them. His teeth were thin set, small and scaly, his hair a little curly, and inclined to a yellow color. His eyebrows met; his ears were small and he had an aquiline nose. His complexion was between brown and fair; his stature was low, though Julius Marathus, his freedman, says he was five feet nine inches in height.

His features.

II. HIS GOVERNMENT

In my sixth and seventh consulships, when I had put an end to the civil wars, after having obtained complete control of affairs by universal consent, I transferred the commonwealth from my own dominion to the authority of the senate and Roman people. In return for this favor on my part, I received by decree of the senate the title Augustus; the door-posts of my house were publicly decked with laurels, a civic crown was fixed above my door, and in the Julian curia was placed a golden shield, which by its inscriptions bore witness that it was given me by the senate and the Roman people on account of my valor, clemency, justice, and piety. After that time I excelled all others in

The republic restored.

Augustus,
Deeds, 34.

(Julian senate-house.)

466 The Founding of the Principate

dignity, but of power I held no more than those also held who were my colleagues in any magistracy.

The founding of the principate.

Dio Cassius, liii. 12.

The beginning of this selection evidently refers to the passing of a law which gave him consular power over certain provinces for ten years.

Ancient World, 451 f.

Provincial arrangements.

In this way he had his headship ratified by the senate and the people. As he wished even so to appear to be democratic in principle, he accepted all the care and superintendence of public business on the ground that it required expert attention, but said that he should not personally govern all the provinces and those that he did govern he should not keep in his charge perpetually. The weaker ones, because (as he said) they were peaceful and free from war, he gave over to the senate. But the more powerful he held in possession because they were slippery and dangerous and either had enemies in adjoining territory, or on their own account were able to cause a great uprising. His pretext was that the senate should fearlessly gather the fruits of the finest portion of the empire while he himself had the labors and the dangers: the real purpose of this plan was that the senators be unarmed and unprepared for battle, while he alone had arms and kept soldiers.

Africa and Numidia, Asia and Greece with Epirus, the Dalmatian and Macedonian territories, Sicily, Crete, and Libya adjacent to Crete, Bithynia with the adjoining Pontus, Sardinia and Bætica, were consequently held to belong to the people and senate. Cæsar's were the remainder of Spain, the neighborhood of Tarraco and Lusitania, all Gauls (Narbonensis, the Lugdunensis, Aquitania, and Belgica). . . . These provinces, then, and the so-called Hollow Syria, Phœnicia and Cilicia, Cyprus and the Egyptians, fell at that time to Cæsar's share. Later he gave Cyprus and Gaul adjacent to Narbo back to the people, and he himself took Dalmatia instead. This was also done subsequently in the case of other provinces as

the progress of my narrative will show. I have enumerated these in such detail because now each one of them is ruled separately whereas in old times and for a long period the provinces were governed two and three together.

The others I have not mentioned because some of them were acquired later, and the rest, even if they had been already subdued, were not being governed by the Romans, but either were left to enjoy their own laws, or had been turned over to some kingdom. All of them that after this came into the Roman empire were attached to the possessions of the man temporarily in power. This, then, was the division of the provinces.

Dependent
allies.

III. OATH OF LOYALTY TO AUGUSTUS AND TO HIS FAMILY

SWORN BY THE PAPHLAGONIANS

This document, in the Greek language, is preserved in an inscription. It belongs to the year 3 B.C. The occasion which called for this warm expression of allegiance may have been the unsettled condition of Rome's relations with Parthia and Armenia; it preceded by two years the diplomatic mission of Gaius, adopted son (born grandson) of Augustus, to the Orient. The act, purely voluntary, testifies to the zealous affection for the ruling family cherished by the easterly provinces. The Romans who were engaged in business in Paphlagonia joined in the oath. Translated by the editors.

I swear by Zeus, Earth, and Sun, and all the gods and goddesses, and by Augustus himself that I will be well-minded to Cæsar Augustus and to his children throughout the whole time of life in word and deed and heart, regarding as friends whomsoever they so regard, and considering enemies whomsoever they so consider, that I will spare neither body nor soul nor life nor children in their interests, but in every way will endure every danger in their behalf.

By all the
gods.

468 The Founding of the Principate

And whatever I see or hear against them, either said or plotted or done, that I will report, and will be an enemy to the one who says or plots or does any such thing. And whomsoever they judge to be enemies, such persons I will pursue and ward off by sea and land. But if I do anything in violation of this oath, and fail to fulfill it to the letter, I invoke upon myself and my body and soul and life, and upon my children and all my race, destruction and ruin even to the uttermost generation; and may neither earth nor sea receive the bodies of me and mine or of my children, and may not earth bear fruit for us.

IV. THE CENTENARY FESTIVAL (LUDI SÆCULARES) OF THE YEAR 17 B.C.

In the upper classes of Rome at this time there seems to have been a widespread belief that the social legislation of Augustus, 18 B.C., marked the close of the reign of vice and the dawn of an age of purity. The "board of fifteen for performing sacred rites," among whom was Augustus, consulted the Sibylline Books, and found in them directions to make ready, by the celebration of the Secular Games, for the pure reign of Apollo. Tradition declared that this festival was first celebrated in the early years of the Republic for the purpose of expelling a pestilence, and that it was repeated every century—or rather, every hundred and ten years. The latter was an era established by the Etruscans with the idea that it was the longest possible limit of human life. In addition to this Etruscan element, there were also Greek and Roman elements in the institution as it existed in the Augustan age. The following epigraphic account of the Augustan celebration of the festival is from the minutes of the "board of fifteen," translated by the editors.

Prayer of
Augustus.

In the following night in the Campus Martius, on the bank of the Tiber, Imperator Cæsar Augustus sacrificed according to Greek rite nine female lambs, and nine she-goats, and prayed: . . . "I pray and beseech you that ye augment the power and majesty of the Roman people

the quirites in war and peace, and that ye guard forever the Latin name, and grant eternal safety and health to the Roman people the quirites, and be propitious to the Roman people the quirites, and to the legions of the Roman people the quirites, and keep safe the state of the Roman people the quirites; that ye may show yourselves well-minded and favorable to the Roman people the quirites, to the college of fifteen, to me and my house and family, and that ye accept this sacrifice of nine female lambs and nine she-goats offered unblemished; because of these matters, on account of this female lamb, offered without blemish, be and become ye favorable and propitious to the Roman people the quirites, to the college of fifteen, to me, to my house, and to my family."

Quirites, a primitive term for "citizens," possibly meaning "spearmen."

Notice the dry formalism of the prayer—characteristic of early Roman religion.

After the completion of these sacrifices, games were celebrated in the night on a stage with no theatre adjoined or seats placed; and a hundred and ten matrons, according to instructions issued by the fifteen, held a sellisternia (women's banquet) to Juno and Diana, with two seats placed (for the goddesses).

The hundred and ten matrons.

Then were celebrated the Latin games in the wooden theatre which had been erected in the Campus next to the Tiber, and in the same form the matrons held the sellisternia, nor were interrupted those games which had been begun in the night. . . .

The Latin games.

Then to the hundred and ten married matrons, to whom the order had been issued, M. Agrippa dictated a prayer in the following words:

"Juno queen,—and may it be well to the Roman people the quirites—the married matrons on their knees beseech thee to augment in war and peace the majesty of the Roman people the quirites, always to protect the Latin name, to bestow eternal safety, victory and strength on

Prayer of the matrons.

470 The Founding of the Principate

the Roman people the quirites, grant thy favor to the Roman people the quirites and to the legions of the Roman people the quirites, keep safe the republic of the Roman people the quirites, be good-willed and propitious to the Roman people the quirites, to the 'fifteen for performing the sacred rites' and to us. . . . These things we, the hundred and ten married matrons of the Roman people the quirites on our bended knees beg and beseech of thee."

[Reference is then made to further rites including a sacrifice and prayer to Terra Mater and to Apollo and Diana on the Palatine Mount.]

After the completion of this sacrifice twenty-seven boys to whom it had been ordered, whose fathers and mothers were both alive, and the same number of girls (of the same description) sang a hymn (on the Palatine) and in the same way on the Capitoline.

Q. Horatius Flaccus composed the hymn.

[The festival closed with various other ceremonies].

V. FROM THE SECULAR HYMN

TO APOLLO AND DIANA

Ye powers divine,
Unto our docile youth give morals pure!
Ye powers divine,
To placid age give peace,
And to the stock of Romulus ensure
Dominion vast, a never-failing line,
And in all noble things still make them to increase!

And oh! may he who now
To you with milk-white steers uplifts his prayer,
Within whose veins doth flow
Renowned Anchises' blood, and Venus' ever fair,
Be still in war supreme, yet still the foe
His sword hath humbled spare!

(Composed
by Horace
for the Secu-
lar games,
with which
Augustus, in
17 B.C., cele-
brated the
opening of
a new *Sæcu-
lum*, or age.
In the plan
of Augustus
the *sæculum*
was to con-
sist of a hun-
dred and ten
years, but

The Secular Hymn

471

Now, even now the Mede
Our hosts omnipotent by land and sea,
And Alban axes fears; the Scythians, late
So vaunting, and the hordes of Ind await,
On low expectant knee,
What terms soe'er we may be minded to concede.
Now Faith, and Peace, and Honor, and the old
Primeval Shame, and Worth long held in scorn,
To reappear make bold,
And blissful Plenty, with her teeming horn,
Doth all her smiles unfold.

And oh! may he, the Seer Divine,
God of the fulgent bow,
Phœbus, belovèd of the Muses nine,
Who, for the body racked and worn with woe
By arts remedial finds an anodyne,
If he with no unloving eye doth view
The crested heights and halls of Palatine,
On to a lustre new
Prolong the weal of Rome, the blest estate
Of Latium, and on them, long ages through,
Still growing honors, still new joys accumulate!

And may She, too, who makes her haunt
On Aventine and Algidus alway,
May She, Diana, grant
The prayers, which duly here
The Fifteen Men upon this festal day
To her devoutly send,
And to the youth's pure adjurations lend
No unpropitious ear!

Now homeward we repair,
Full of the blessèd hope, that will not fail,
That Jove and all the gods have heard our prayer,
And with approving smiles our homage hail,—
We, skilled in choral harmonies to raise
The hymn to Phœbus and Diana's praise.

other emperors, as Claudius, insisted on making it an even hundred years.)

(The axes were an emblem of Roman power. Horace calls them Alban after Alba Longa, the mother-city of Rome and the early home of the Julian gens, to which Augustus belonged by adoption.)

(The Fifteen Men who had charge of the Sibylline Books, which ordained this celebration. The number of men in this college was originally two, but was increased to ten by Licinius and Sextius, and still later to fifteen.)

VI. CITY IMPROVEMENTS

Public
works.

Strabo v. 3. 8.

*Ancient
World*, 457-
60.

(In his public works Augustus showed the true Roman spirit.) The Greek cities are thought to have flourished mainly on account of the happy choice made by their founders, the beauty or strength of their sites, their nearness to some port, and the excellence of the country. But Roman prudence was more particularly employed on matters which had received but little attention from the Greeks, such as paving their roads, building aqueducts, and sewers to convey the sewage of the city into the Tiber. In fact they have paved the roads, cut through hills, and filled up valleys, that merchandise may be conveyed by wagon from the ports. The sewers, arched over with hewn stones, are large enough in some parts for wagons loaded with hay to pass through; while so plentiful is the supply of water from the aqueducts that rivers may be said to flow through the city and the sewers, and almost every house is furnished with water-pipes and copious fountains. This water-supply is largely the work of Marcus Agrippa. Many ornaments, too, he bestowed on the city.

It may be well to say that the ancients, occupied with greater and more pressing affairs, paid little attention to beautifying Rome. But their successors, and especially those of our day, without neglecting necessary matters, have at the same time embellished the city with many splendid objects. Pompey, divine Cæsar, and Augustus, with his children, friends, wife, and sister, have zealously surpassed all others in the munificence of these decorations. The greater number of improvements may be seen in the Campus Martius, which to the beauties of nature adds those of art. The remarkable size of the plain permits chariot-races and other feats of horsemanship without

hindrance, and allows multitudes to exercise themselves at ball, in the circus, and in the palestra. The buildings which surround it, the turf covered with herbage all the year round, the hilltops beyond the Tiber, extending from its banks like a panorama, present a view which the eye abandons with regret.

Near this plain is another surrounded with columns, sacred groves, three theatres, an amphitheatre, and superb temples close to one another. So magnificent is the place that it would seem idle to describe the rest of the city after it. For this reason the Romans, esteeming it the most sacred place, have there erected funeral monuments to the most illustrious persons of both sexes. The most remarkable of these monuments is the Mausoleum, which consists of a mound of earth raised on a high foundation of white marble, situated near the river and covered to the top with evergreen shrubs. On the summit is a bronze statue of Cæsar Augustus, and beneath the mound are the ashes of himself, his relatives, and friends. Behind is a large grove with charming promenades. In the centre of the plain is the spot where the body of this prince was reduced to ashes; it is surrounded with a double enclosure, one of marble, the other of iron; and the interior is planted with poplars. If from there you proceed to visit the ancient Forum, which is equally filled with basilicas, porticos, The Forum. and temples, you will there behold the Capitol, the Palatine Hill, with the noble works which adorn them, and the piazza of Livia,—each succeeding place causing you speedily to forget what you have before seen. Such is Rome.

VII. A POSSIBLE HEIR

Meanwhile as supports to his despotism he raised to the office of pontiff and to the curule ædileship Claudius Mar-

His heirs.

Tacitus,
Annals, i. 3.

cellus, his sister's son, while a mere stripling, and he gave two consecutive consulships to Marcus Agrippa, of humble birth but a good soldier, and one who had shared his victory. Marcellus soon afterward died. [In his memory Vergil inserted in the *Æneid* some beautiful lines, representing Æneas conversing with Anchises about the spirit of Marcellus in the realm of Hades.]

Marcellus.

(The "hero" here mentioned is the famous Marcellus of the Second Punic War; *Rome*, 112; *Ancient World*, 326.)

Vergil,
Æneid, vi.
860-86.

(What lamentations of mourners shall the Campus Martius—the burial place—send forth to Rome, the mighty city of Mars!)

Æneas . . . noticed

Walking a youth, superb in his figure and glittering armor;
But his brow was uncheered, and his eyes were dejected in aspect.
"Who, my father, is he who attends on the hero in going?
Is he his son, or some one of his noble line of descendants?
What an array of attendants about him! what majesty in him!
But dark night flits round his head with sorrowful shadows."
Then did his father Anchises proceed, while the tears were up-welling:
"O my begotten, inquire not the exquisite grief of thy kindred:
Him shall the fates just show to the world, and no longer permit him
Here to remain; too mighty to you had the Roman succession
Seemed, ye Supernals, if gifts so peculiar had lasted forever.
What lamentations of heroes shall yon plain post to the mighty
City of Mavors! Or, Tiber, what pageants of mourning shalt thou,
too,
Witness ere long, as thou close by the new made sepulchre glidest!
No such a youth from the Ilian nation shall ever his Latin
Ancestors lift to so heightened a hope, nor shall ever hereafter
Romulus' land boast over another so cherished a darling!
Ah! for thy piety! Ah! for the pristine faith, and the right hand
Dauntless in war! with impunity none could have dared to attack him,
Meeting him when he was armed or with infantry charging on foemen,
Or when digging his spurs in the flanks of his leathery warhorse.
Ah! lamentable boy! if ever thou burstest thy hard fate,
Thou shalt become a MARCELLUS! bring lilies in plentiful handfuls;
I will the flowers purpureal strew, and the soul of mine offspring
Load with the presents at least, and will render if only an empty
Service'

VIII. THE CHARACTER AND THE ACCESSION OF TIBERIUS

Tiberius Claudius Nero was three years old when Livia, daughter of Claudianus Drusus, became the wife of Cæsar (Octavianus) for she had been contracted to him by Nero, her former husband. Tiberius, a youth trained in the noblest principles, possessed in the highest degree birth, beauty, dignity, valuable knowledge, and superior capacity. From the beginning he gave hopes of becoming the great man he now is, and by his appearance he announced himself a prince. Made quæstor in his nineteenth year, he began to act in a public character; and under the direction of his stepfather he took such judicious measures, both in Rome and at Ostia, to remedy the excessive price of provisions and the scarcity of corn that, from what he did on this occasion, it could plainly be seen how great he was to become.

Character.Velleius ii.
94.*Ancient
World*, 462-4.

He married Agrippina (Vipsania), the daughter of Marcus Agrippa and granddaughter of Cæcilius Atticus, a Roman knight,—the person to whom Cicero has addressed so many letters. After the birth of his son Drusus, Tiberius was obliged to part with her, though she retained his affections, . . . to make way for marrying Julia, daughter of Augustus. This step he took with extreme reluctance; for besides having the warmest attachment to Agrippina, he was disgusted with the conduct of Julia. . . . The divorcing of Agrippina gave him the deepest regret; and on meeting her afterward he looked at her with eyes so passionately expressive of affection that care was taken that she should never again come in his sight.

**His
marriages.**Suetonius,
Tiberius, 7.(By this
marriage
Tiberius
became the
heir of
Augustus.)

After the funeral of Augustus all prayers were addressed to Tiberius. On his part, he urged various reasons (for declining the government)—especially the greatness of the

**Tiberius
is offered
the imperial
power.**

476 The Founding of the Principate

Tacitus,
Annals, i. 11.

empire and his distrust of himself. "Only the intellect of the divine Augustus," he said, "is equal to such a burden. Called as I have been by him to share his anxieties, I have learned by experience how exposed to fortune's caprices is the task of universal rule. Consequently a state which has the support of so many great men should not put everything on one alone; for many by uniting their efforts will more easily discharge public functions." There was more grand sentiment than good faith in such words. . . . The senators, however, whose only fear was lest they might seem to understand him, burst into complaints, tears, and prayers.

Tacitus,
Annals, i. 13.

Wearied at last by the assembly's clamorous entreaties and by the urgent demands of individual senators, he gradually gave way, though he would not admit that he was undertaking the imperial rule, but yet ceased to refuse it.

IX. ADMINISTRATION OF TIBERIUS

**On pension-
ing spend-
thrift
senatorial
families.**

Tacitus, *An-
nals*, ii. 38,
quoting a
Speech of
Tiberius.

The speech
of a senator
was not
limited to the
subject be-
fore the
house.

"If all poor men begin to come here and to beg money for their children, individuals will never be satisfied, and the state will be bankrupt. Certainly our ancestors did not grant the privilege of occasionally proposing amendments or suggesting, in our turn for speaking, something for the general advantage in order that we might in this house increase our private business and property, thereby bringing odium on the Senate and on princes whether they concede or refuse their bounty. In fact, it is not a request, but an importunity, as utterly unreasonable as it is unforeseen, for a senator, when the house has met on other matters, to rise from his place and, pleading the number and age of his children, put a pressure on the delicacy of the Senate, then transfer the same constraint

to myself, and as it were, break open the exchequer, which if we exhaust it by improper favoritism, will have to be replenished by crimes. Money was given you, Hortalus, by Augustus, but without solicitation, and not on the condition of its being always given. Otherwise industry will languish and idleness be encouraged, if a man has nothing to fear, nothing to hope from himself, and every one in utter recklessness will expect relief from others, thus becoming useless to himself and a burden to me."

Next the emperor brought forward a motion for the election of a Vestal Virgin in the room of Occia, who for fifty-seven years had presided with the most immaculate virtue over the Vestal worship. He formally thanked Fonteius Agrippa and Domitius Pollio for offering their daughters and so vying with one another in zeal for the commonwealth. Pollio's daughter was preferred, only because her mother had lived with one and the same husband, while Agrippa had impaired the honor of his house by a divorce. The emperor consoled his daughter, passed over though she was, with a dowry of a million sesterces.

As the city populace complained of the cruel dearth of corn, he fixed a price for grain, to be paid by the purchaser, promising himself to add two sesterces on every peck for the traders. But he would not therefore accept the title of "Father of the Country," which once before, too, had been offered him, and he sharply rebuked those who called his work "divine" and himself "lord." Consequently speech was restricted and perilous under a prince who feared freedom while he hated sycophancy.

A furious conflagration damaged the capital to an unusual extent, reducing Mount Cælius to ashes. "It was an ill-starred year," people began to say, "and the prince's purpose of leaving Rome must have been formed under

Election of a Vestal.

Tacitus,
Annals, ii.
86.

The price of grain regulated.

Ib. 87.

The idea that Tiberius feared freedom is not well sustained.

Fire on the Cælian hill.

Tac. *Ann.* iv.
64.

478 The Founding of the Principate

**Liberality of
Tiberius.**

evil omens." They began in vulgar fashion to trace ill-luck to guilt, when Tiberius checked them by distributing money in proportion to losses sustained. He received a vote of thanks in the senate from its distinguished members, and was applauded by the populace for having assisted with his liberality,—without partiality or the solicitations of friends,—strangers whom he himself sought out.

**A public
misfortune.**

Tacitus,
Annals,
ii. 47.

Twelve famous cities of Asia fell by an earthquake one night, so that the destruction was all the more unforeseen and fearful. And there was no means of escape usual in such a disaster, by rushing out into the open country; for in the case before us the yawning earth swallowed the people up. Vast mountains collapsed; what had been level ground seemed to be raised aloft, and fires blazed out amid the ruin. The misfortune fell most fatally on the inhabitants of Sardis, and attracted to them the largest share of sympathy. The emperor promised ten million sesterces, and remitted for five years all their dues to the treasury or to the emperor's purse. It was determined that the people of these cities . . . should be exempt from tribute for that length of time, and some one was to be sent to examine their actual condition and to relieve them.

**Egyptian
and Jewish
religion.**

Suetonius,
Tiberius, 36.

Tiberius suppressed all foreign religions, including the Egyptian and Jewish rites; those who practised these superstitions he compelled to burn their vestments and all their sacred utensils. Under pretence of military service he distributed the Jewish youths among the provinces noted for their unhealthful climate; and he dismissed from the city all the rest of that nation as well as proselytes to that faith, under pain of slavery for life unless they obeyed.

STUDIES

1. Describe the diet of Augustus. What was his health? What bearing naturally had this condition on his public policy?

2. How does he say he restored the Republic? What power was he to exercise outside of Rome? What power was left the senate? Why do we speak of his government as a principate?

3. What was the feeling of the eastern provincials toward him and his family? Did the leading Romans have the same feeling for him?

4. What idea does this document give you of the character of the old Roman worship?

5. Contrast the *Hymn* written by Horace.

6. Describe the public works of Augustus.

7. What is here said of Marcellus? Had Augustus a right to appoint a man to succeed him?

8. How did Tiberius obtain the succession? Who was he and what kind of a man?

9. What was his policy with reference to spendthrift senators? Was it wise? What was thought of divorced people who married again? What was done to lower the price of grain? Compare present conditions. What else did Tiberius do to relieve the unfortunate? What general impression of Tiberius do these extracts make?

CHAPTER XXXIX

FROM PRINCIPATE TO MONARCHY: THE CLAUD- IAN AND THE FLAVIAN PRINCES

A. ADMINISTRATIONS OF THE PRINCES

I. CLAUDIUS

**Personal
appearance
of Claudius.**

Suetonius,
Claudius, 30.

*Ancient
World*, 465 f.

EITHER standing or sitting, but especially when he lay asleep, Claudius had a majestic and graceful appearance; for he was tall, but not slender. His gray locks became him well, and he had a full neck. But his knees were feeble and failed him in walking, so that his gait was ungainly on state occasions as well as when he was taking exercise. Boisterous in his laughter, he was still more so in his wrath. . . . He stammered, too, in his speech, and had a tremulous motion of the head at all times, but especially when he was engaged in any business, however trifling.

**Narrowness
of the
Roman
senators.**

(Gallia
Comata, or
Celtica, one
of the prov-
inces of
Transalpine
Gaul.)

Tacitus, *An-
nals*, xi. 23.

The question of filling up the senate was discussed, and the chief men of Gallia Comata, who had long possessed the rights of allies and of Roman citizens, sought the privilege of obtaining public offices at Rome. There was much talk of every kind on the subject, and vehement opposition showed itself in the argument before the emperor. "Italy," some said, "is not so feeble as to be unable to furnish her own capital with a senate. . . . What distinctions will be left for the remnants of our noble houses, or for any impoverished senators from Latium? Every place will be crowded with these millionaires, whose ancestors of the second and third generations at

the head of hostile tribes destroyed our armies with fire and sword, and actually besieged the divine Julius at Alesia. These are recent memories. What if there were to rise up the remembrance of those who fell in Rome's citadel and at her altar by the hands of these same barbarians! Let them enjoy the title of citizens, but let them not vulgarize the distinctions of the senate and the honors of office."

These and like arguments failed to impress the emperor. He at once applied himself to answering them, and thus addressed the assembled senate: "My ancestors, the most ancient of whom was made at once a citizen and a noble of Rome, encourage me to govern by the same policy of transferring to this city all conspicuous merit, wherever found. . . .

"What was the ruin of Sparta and Athens but this fault, that mighty as they were in war, they spurned from them as aliens those whom they had conquered? Our founder Romulus, on the other hand, was so wise that on one and the same day he fought as enemies and hailed as fellow-citizens several nations. Strangers have reigned over us. That freedmen's sons should be intrusted with public offices is not, as many people think, a sudden innovation; it was a common practice of the early republic. . . .

"On the whole, if you review all our wars, never has one been finished in a shorter time than that with the Gauls. Thenceforth they have preserved an unbroken and loyal peace. United with us as they now are by manners, education, and intermarriage, let them bring us their gold and their wealth rather than enjoy it in isolation. Everything, senators, which we now hold to be of the highest antiquity was once new. Plebeian magistrates came after patrician; Latin magistrates after plebeian; magistrates of other

Statesman-like views of the emperor.

Tacitus, *Annals*, xi. 24.

The Gauls are worthy of the honor.

(Cæsar's conquest, 58-50 B.C.)

Italian peoples after Latin. This practice, too, will establish itself, and what we are this day justifying by precedents will be itself a precedent."

Tacitus, *Annals*, xi. 25.

The emperor's speech was followed by a decree of the senate, and the Ædui were the first to obtain the right of becoming senators at Rome.

II. NERO'S TASTES

His accomplishments in music.

Suetonius, *Nero*, 20.

Ancient World, 446-8.

Among the liberal arts which he was taught in his youth was music; and immediately after his advancement to the imperial office, he sent for Turpnus, a harpist of the highest reputation, who flourished at the time. After sitting with him several days as he sang and played after dinner till late at night, Nero began gradually to practice on the instrument himself. . . . He made his first public appearance at Naples; and although the theatre quivered with the sudden shock of an earthquake, he did not desist until he had finished the piece of music he had begun. . . .

At the same time he chose young men of the equestrian rank and above five thousand robust young fellows of the common people, to learn various kinds of applause . . . which they were to practice in his honor whenever he performed.

The "Golden House."

Suetonius, *Nero*, 31.

In nothing was he so prodigal as in his buildings. He completed his palace by extending it from the Palatine to the Esquiline Hill. At first he called this addition simply the Passage; but after it was burned down and rebuilt, he named it the Golden House. Of the dimensions and furniture it may suffice to give the following description. The porch was so high that there stood in it a colossal statue of Nero a hundred and twenty feet in height; and the space included in it was so ample that it had triple porticos a mile in length, and a lake like a sea, surrounded with

buildings which had the appearance of a city. Within its area were corn-fields, vineyards, pastures, and woods, which contained a great number of animals of various kinds both tame and wild. In other parts the palace was entirely overlaid with gold and adorned with jewels and mother of pearl. The dining rooms were vaulted, and compartments of the ceilings, inlaid with ivory, were made to revolve and scatter flowers; they contained pipes, too, which shed unguents upon the guests. . . . When he dedicated this magnificent building after finishing it, all he said in approval was, "Now I have a dwelling fit for a man."

III. NERO'S ADMINISTRATION

The prince forbade by an edict any magistrate or procurator in the government of a province to exhibit a show of gladiators or wild beasts, or indeed any other public entertainment; for hitherto our subjects had been as much oppressed by such bribery as by actual extortion, while governors sought to screen by corruption the guilty deeds of arbitrary caprice.

Gladiatorial shows.

Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii. 31.

That same year, repeated demands on the part of the people, who denounced the excessive greed of the revenue collectors, made Nero doubt whether he should not order the repeal of all indirect taxes, and so confer a most splendid boon on the human race. But this sudden impulse was checked by the senators who, having first heartily praised the grandeur of the conception, pointed out that the dissolution of the empire must ensue if the revenues which supported the state were to be diminished; for as soon as the customs were swept away, there would follow a demand for the abolition of the direct taxes. Many companies for the collection of indirect taxes had been formed

Regulation of the taxes.

Ib. 50.

by consuls and tribunes, when the freedom of the Roman people was still in its vigor, and arrangements were subsequently made to insure an exact correspondence between the amount of income and the necessary disbursements. Certainly some restraint, they admitted, must be put on the cupidity of the revenue collectors, that they might not by new oppressions bring into odium what for so many years had been endured without a complaint.

The prince's edict.

Ib. 51.

Accordingly the prince issued an edict that the regulations about every branch of the public revenue, which had hitherto been kept secret, should be published; that claims which had been 'dropped should not be revived after a year; that the prætor at Rome, the proprætor or proconsul in the provinces, should give judicial precedence to all cases against the collectors; that the soldiers should retain their immunities except when they traded for a profit, with other very equitable arrangements, which for a short time were maintained and were subsequently disregarded.

IV. VESPASIAN'S ADMINISTRATION

His military discipline.

Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 8.

Ancient World, 468-71.

His buildings.

Suetonius, *Vespasian*, 9.

He let slip no opportunity for reforming the discipline of the army. When therefore a young man came perfumed to thank the emperor for having appointed him to command a squadron of horse, Vespasian turned away in disgust, and with this sharp reprimand—"I should prefer to have you smell of garlic"—revoked the commission.

Among his new public buildings was his temple of Peace near the Forum, and on the Cælian Mount that of Claudius, which Agrippina had begun but Nero had almost destroyed. A third was an amphitheatre in the middle of the city, for he found that Augustus had planned such a work. He purified the senatorial and equestrian ranks,

which had greatly fallen off in numbers and had lost honor through the neglect of his predecessors. After expelling the unworthy, he chose in their places the most honorable persons in Italy.

An earnest patron of learning and the liberal arts, Vespasian granted to the Latin and Greek professors of rhetoric the yearly salary of a hundred thousand sesterces each from the treasury. He bought, too, the freedom of superior poets and artists. . . . When some one offered to convey some immense columns into the Capitol at a small expense by a mechanical contrivance, the emperor rewarded him very handsomely for the invention, but refused to accept the service, saying, "Suffer me to find maintenance for the poor people."

A patron of learning.

Suetonius,
Vespasian,
18.

V. HOW THE JEWS AVOIDED CAPTIVITY

So great was the zeal they were in to slay their wives and children and themselves also. Nor indeed, when they came to the work itself, did their courage fail them, as one might imagine it would have done; but they then held fast, without wavering, the same resolution which they had upon the hearing of Eleazar's speech. Yet every one of them still retained the natural passion of love for themselves and their families; yet the reasoning they went upon appeared to them to be very just, even with regard to those that were dearest to them; for the husbands tenderly embraced their wives and took their children into their arms and gave the longest parting kisses to them, with tears in their eyes. But at the same time did they complete what they had resolved on, as if they had been executed by the hands of strangers; and they had nothing else for their comfort but the necessity they were in of doing this execution, to avoid the prospect they had of the miseries

In the siege of Jerusalem, 70 A.D.

Josephus,
Jewish War,
vii. 9.

Ancient World, 468 f.

This event happened in a fortress of the besieged city, while it was being stormed by the Romans.

they were to suffer from their enemies. Nor was there at length any one of these men found that scrupled to act his part in this terrible execution; but every one of them despatched his dearest relations. Miserable men indeed were they! whose distress forced them to slay their own wives and children with their own hands, as the lightest of those evils that were before them. So being not able any longer to bear the grief they were under for what they had done, and esteeming it an injury to those they had slain, to live even the shortest space of time after them, they presently laid all they had in a heap, and set fire to it.

Mutual self-destruction.

They then chose the men by lot out of their number, to slay all the rest; every one of whom laid himself down by his wife and children on the ground, and threw his arms about them, and they offered their necks to the stroke of those who by lot executed that melancholy office; and when these ten had without fear executed them all, they made the same rule for casting lots for themselves, that he whose lot it was should first kill the other nine, and at last should kill himself. Accordingly, all these had courage sufficient to be in no way behind one another in doing or suffering; hence, for a conclusion, the nine offered their necks to the executioner, and he who was the last of all took a view of all the other bodies, lest perchance some one among so many that were slain should want his assistance to be quite despatched; and when he perceived that they were all slain, he set fire to the palace and with the great force of his hand ran his sword entirely through himself, and fell down dead near his own relations. So these people died with this intention, that they might not leave so much as one soul among them all alive to be subject to the Romans. Yet was there an ancient woman, and another who was kin of Eleazar, and superior to most women in pru-

dence and learning, with five children, who had concealed themselves in caverns under ground, and had carried water thither for their drink, and were hidden there when the rest were intent upon the slaughter of one another. Those others were nine hundred and sixty in number, the women and children being withal included in that computation. This calamitous slaughter was made on the fifteenth day of the month Nisan.

Now for the Romans, they expected fighting in the morning. When accordingly they put on their armor, and laid bridges of planks upon their ladders from the banks, they made an assault upon the fortress; yet saw they no enemy, but a terrible solitude on every side, with a fire within the place, as well as a perfect silence. So they were at a loss to guess at what had happened. At length they made a shout, as if it had been at a blow given by the battering-ram, to try whether they could bring any one out that was within. The women heard this noise, and came out of their underground cavern, and informed the Romans what had been done, and the second of them clearly described all, both what was said and what was done, and the manner of it; yet did they not easily give their attention to such a desperate undertaking, and did not believe it could be as they said. They also attempted to put the fire out, and quickly cutting themselves a way through it, they came within the palace, and so met with the multitude of the slain, but could take no pleasure in the fact, though it were done to their enemies. Nor could they do other than wonder at the courage of their resolution, and the immovable contempt of death which so great a number of them had shown when they went through with such an action as that was.

What the
Romans
found
within.

VI. AN EVENT IN THE PRINCIPATE OF TITUS

**The
Eruption of
Vesuvius,
79 A.D.**

Pliny the
Younger,
Letters, vi.
20.

*Ancient
World*, 471 f.

**Flight of
Pliny and
his mother.**

**Departure
from
Misenum.**

During many days there had been shocks of an earthquake, which alarmed us little, as they are frequent in Campania; but they were so violent that night that they not only shook everything about us, but seemed in fact to threaten total destruction. My mother flew to my room, where she found me rising in order to awaken her. We went out into a small court belonging to the house, which separated the sea from the building. It was now morning, but the light was very faint and languid; the buildings all round us tottered, and though we stood on open ground, yet as the place was narrow and confined, there was no remaining without imminent danger.

We therefore resolved to leave the town. The people followed us in the utmost consternation, and pressed in great crowds about us on our way out. After going a convenient distance from the houses, we stood still in the midst of a most dangerous and awe-inspiring scene. The carriages we had ordered to be drawn out were so agitated backward and forward, though on the most level ground, that we could not keep them steady even by supporting them with large stones. The sea seemed to roll back upon itself, and to be driven from its banks by the convulsive motions of the earth. Certainly the shore was considerably enlarged and several sea-animals were left on it. On the other hand, a black and dreadful cloud, bursting with fiery, serpentine vapor, darted out a long train of flame, which resembled flashes of lightning, but were much larger. . . .

Soon afterward the cloud seemed to descend, and cover the whole ocean; as in fact it entirely hid the island of Capræ and the promontory of Misenum. My mother con-

jured me to make my escape at any rate, which, as I was young, I might easily accomplish. As for herself, she said, her age and corpulency rendered all attempts of that sort impossible; she would willingly meet death, however, if she could have the satisfaction of seeing that she was not the occasion of mine. But I absolutely refused to leave her; and taking her by the hand, I led her on. She complied with great reluctance, and not without many reproaches to herself for being the cause of retarding my flight. The ashes now began to fall upon us, though in no great quantity. I turned my head and saw behind us a thick smoke, which came rolling after us like a torrent. I proposed while we had yet any light, to turn out of the high road, lest she should be pressed to death in the dark by the crowd which followed us.

We had scarcely stepped out of the path, when darkness overspread us, not like that of a cloudy night, or when there is no moon, but of a room when it is shut up and all the lights extinct. Nothing then was to be heard but the shrieks of women, the screams of children, and the cries of men. Some were calling for their children, others for their parents, others for their husbands; they distinguished one another only by the voice. One was lamenting his own fate, another that of his family; some were wishing to die from very fear of dying; some were lifting their hands to the gods; but the greater number imagined that the last and eternal night had come, to destroy the gods and the world together. . . .

At length a glimmering light appeared, which we imagined to be the forerunner of an approaching burst of flame rather than the return of day, and in this respect we were right. The fire fell at a distance from us, however, and then we were immersed in thick darkness; a heavy shower

In total
darkness.

Fire and
ashes.

of ashes fell upon us, which we were obliged every now and then to shake off, otherwise we should have been overwhelmed and buried in a heap. . . . At last this terrible darkness gradually faded, like a cloud of smoke; the real day returned and even the sun appeared, though very faintly, just as when an eclipse is coming on. Every object which presented itself seemed changed, for it was covered with white ashes, as with a deep snow.

VII. THE ADMINISTRATION OF BRITAIN UNDER DOMITIAN

Britain.

Tacitus,
Agricola, 19.

*Ancient
World*, 472.

Appointed governor of Britain, Agricola chose rather to confer offices and employments upon such as would not offend, than to condemn those who had offended. The expense resulting from an increase of the military tribunes he made easier by a just and equal assessment; he abolished those private exactions which were more grievous than the taxes themselves. For the inhabitants had been compelled in mockery to sit by their own locked-up granaries, to buy corn needlessly, and to sell it again at a stated price. Long and difficult journeys had also been imposed upon them; for the several districts, instead of being allowed to supply the nearest winter quarters, were forced to carry their corn to remote and out-of-the-way places. Thus what was easy for all to procure was converted into an article of gain to a few.

Tac. *Agr.* 20.

By suppressing these abuses in the first year of his administration, he established a favorable idea of peace, which through the negligence or oppression of earlier rulers, had been no less dreaded than war.

Civilization
and educa-
tion.

In order by a taste of pleasure to reclaim the natives from that rude and unsettled state which prompted them to war, and win them to peace and quiet, he induced them

by private urging and public encouragements to erect temples, courts of justice, and dwelling-houses. He bestowed praise upon those who were prompt in carrying out his intention, and reprimanded the slow. In this way he promoted the spirit of emulation which had all the force of necessity.

Tacitus,
Agricola, 21.

Preferring the natural genius of the Britons to the attainments of the Gauls, he took care to provide a liberal education for the sons of the chieftains. . . . These attempts met with such success that they who lately disdained to use the Roman language were now ambitious to become eloquent. Hence they began to hold the Roman dress in honor and to wear the toga.

Domitian's greatest dread was that the name of a private person might be exalted above that of a prince. Agricola had delivered the province in peace and security to his successor; and lest his entrance into the city might be rendered too conspicuous by the gathering and the acclamations of the people, he declined the salutations of his friends by arriving in the night; and he went by night, as he was commanded, to the palace. There after being received with a slight embrace but with not a word spoken, he was compelled to mingle with the servile throng.

**Retirement
of Agricola.**

Tacitus,
Agricola, 39.

Ib. 40.

B. LIFE UNDER THE EARLY PRINCES

I. THE RISE OF A FREEDMAN

But to continue what I was saying, my good management brought me to my present good fortune. I was only as big as the candlestick here when I came from Asia; in fact I used to measure myself by it every day and I smeared my lips with the lamp oil to get a beard on my chin all the

**His earlier
career.**

Petronius,
*Banquet of
Trimalchio*.

sooner. Still for fourteen years I was my master's favorite. And where's the disgrace in doing what one's master tells one? All the same I managed to get into my mistress' good graces too. . . .

Heir to his
master.

But by heaven's help I became master in the house and then I took in my fool of a lord. Next he made me colleague with the prince to his property and I got a senator's fortune. But no one is ever satisfied and I wanted to get into business. To cut it short, I built five ships and loaded them with a cargo of wine; it was worth its weight in gold at that time and I sent it to Rome. You would have thought I ordered my bad luck: every ship was wrecked, it's a fact, not a story. In one day Neptune swallowed up a quarter of a million. Do you think I failed? No, I swear the loss only whetted my appetite, as if nothing had ever happened. I built more ships, larger, better, and luckier ones, so no one could say I was not a bold fellow. You know, a great ship has great strength in itself. I loaded them with wine again, bacon, beans, perfumes, and slaves. At this crisis Fortunata did the pious thing: she sold all her jewelry and dresses and put in my hands a hundred gold pieces. This was the leaven which made my fortunes rise. The gods' wishes are soon fulfilled. By one trip I cleared a round ninety thousand pounds. I immediately bought back all the estates that had belonged to my patron. I built a mansion and bought up beasts to sell at a profit; everything I touched grew like a honeycomb. Once I was worth more than all the citizens of my native town put together, no more of that for me; I withdrew from the business and started money-lending, financing freedmen. I must admit, exactly when I was wanting to discontinue my trading, I was urged to do so by an astrologer who had just come to our town, a Greek fellow called

Fortunata
his wife.

Serapa, clever enough to sit in the councils of the gods. Well this man actually mentioned events which had slipped my own memory: he told me everything as pat as needle and thread: he seemed able to see my very insides and told me everything except what I'd had for dinner the day before. You'd have thought he'd lived with me all ways.

I ask you, Habinnas, you were there with us, I believe, when he said: "You used your wealth to get your wife: you are unlucky in your friends: no one is ever half as grateful to you as he ought to be: you own broad acres: you are nourishing a snake in your bosom." And, well, I really don't see why I shouldn't tell you, I've still got thirty years, four months and two days to live, and I shall soon have a legacy left me. That's what my fortune tells me. But if I am allowed to extend my estates to Apulia, I shall have lived long enough and well enough. Meantime with the help of ever-watchful Mercury I have built this residence. As you know, it was once a cottage, and now it is fit for a god. It's got four dining-halls, twenty bedrooms, two marble colonnades, a dining-room upstairs, my own bedroom, this viper's boudoir, an excellent porter's lodge, and a suite of spare rooms for guests. In fact when Scaurus came he didn't want to put up anywhere else, though he's got things which I'll show you presently. I assure you, if you've only a penny you're only valued at a penny; if you've got something, you'll be thought worth something. And so your humble servant, who was once a mere worm, is now a Cræsus. Meantime, Stichus, bring out my winding-sheet in which I am to be buried, and also the perfume and just a taste from that jar of wine, in which my bones are to be washed.

Predictions
of the
fortune-
teller.

Reference is
to his wife.

II. EULOGY ON MURDIA

To mother.

From an *inscription*.

Translated
by Miss
Rachel R.
Hiller.

This eulogy
to a deceased
mother be-
longs to the
Augustan
age.

As an honor to Murdia, the daughter of Lucius, my mother. May her good qualities by their inherent strength be such an aid to others that they may in consequence be stronger and better. She divided her property equally among her sons and gave a fair portion to her daughter. The love of the mother was evident from her devotion to her children and from the equal distribution of her property. To my stepfather, she bequeathed a fixed sum that the customary dowry might be increased by a free gift. Mindful of my own father, and faithful to him, after an appraisal of the property, she made special bequests to me, not preferring me to my brothers to their discredit; but recalling my father's generosity to me, she decided that that portion which she had taken from my inheritance under the influence of the second husband, ought to be returned, so that guarded by her care, it was restored to my property.

**A model wife
and mother.**

She herself determined, as she had been given in marriage by her parents to worthy men, she would be obedient and honest; as a wife to the deserving she would become more acceptable; through her fidelity, she would be regarded the dearer; through her judgment, the more excellent; after her death, she would be worthy of universal praise since the distribution of her property would show a sweet and faithful spirit toward her husbands, a uniform treatment of her children, in very truth her sense of justice. Wherefore, since the praise of all good women is wont to be of the same simple character, for their natural good qualities, preserved through their own care, do not call for a diversity of words; and since they have all by their fair fame, made the same qualities worthy; and since it

is a difficult matter to bestow new praises upon a woman because her life has been exposed to fewer changes, nevertheless the good qualities common to humanity must of necessity be cherished, lest a neglect of any form of right conduct debase all other praise, because in discretion, honesty, modesty, obedience, domestic duties, diligence, and fidelity, she was the equal of other excellent women, and she yielded to no one in times of trial, during which she proved her virtue, her ability to endure hardships and her wisdom, thus preparing for herself a memory distinguished above all, certainly second to none.

III. LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS

Sarapion to our Heraclides, greeting. I sent you two other letters, one by the hand of Nedymus, one by the hand of Cronius the sword-bearer. Finally then I received from Arabs the letter, and I read it and was grieved. Stick to Ptollarion constantly: perhaps he can set you free. Say to him: "I am not like any one else, I am a lad. With the exception of a talent I have made you to pay my burdens, . . . We have many creditors: do not drive us out." Ask him daily: perhaps he can have pity on you: if not, do you, like all, beware of the Jews. Rather stick to him (Ptollarion), and so you may become his friend. Notice that the document can be signed either by Diodorus or by the wife of the ruler. If you manage your own affairs, you are not to be blamed. Greet Diodorus with the others. Goodbye. Greet Harpocrates.

To a young man financially embarrassed.

Milligan, *Greek Papyri*, 39 f.

41 A.D. Ptollarion seems to have been the chief creditor of Heraclides.

Agreement between Tryphon, son of Dionysius, the son of Tryphon, his mother being Thamounis the daughter of Onnophris, and Ptolemæus, son of Pausirion, the son of Ptolemæus, his mother being Ophelous, the daughter

Contract of apprenticeship.

Milligan, 54. 66 A.D.

of Theon, weaver, both parties belonging to the city of Oxyrhynchus. Tryphon agrees to apprentice to Ptolemæus his son Thoonis, his mother being Saræus the daughter of Apion, who is not yet of age, for a period of one year from the present day, to serve and to do everything commanded him by Ptolemæus in accordance with the whole weaving art, as also he himself knows it—the boy being supported and clothed during the whole time by his father Tryphon, on whom also all the public dues for the boy shall fall, on condition that Ptolemæus shall give him monthly on account of his keep five drachmas, and at the expiry of the whole period on account of his clothing twelve drachmas, it not being permitted to Tryphon to remove the boy from Ptolemæus until the time is completed. And if there are any days during this period on which he (the boy) plays truant, he (Tryphon) will produce him for an equal number of days after the time, or let him pay back for each day one silver drachma, and the penalty for removing him within the period shall be a hundred drachmas and a like amount to the public treasury. But if Ptolemæus himself does not teach the boy thoroughly, let him be liable to the like penalties. This contract of apprenticeship is valid. The 13th year of Nero Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, the month Sebastus, 21.

Sebastus,
Aug. 29—
Sept. 27.

I Ptolemæus, son of Pausirion, the son of Ptolemæus, my mother being Ophelous the daughter of Theon, will carry out each of these requirements in the one year.

I Zoilus, son of Horus, the son of Zoilus, my mother being Dieus daughter of Socceus, write on his behalf seeing that he does not know letters. The 13th year of Nero Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, the month Sebastus 21.

Hermocrates to Chæras his son, greeting. First of all I pray that you may be in health . . . and I beg you . . . to write regarding your health and whatever you wish. Already indeed I have written you regarding the . . . , and you neither answered nor came, and now, if you do not come, I run the risk of losing the lot (of land) which I possess. Our partner has taken no share in the work, for not only was the well not cleaned out, but in addition the water-channel was choked with sand, and the whole land is untilled. No tenant was willing to work it, only I continue paying the public taxes without getting back anything in return. There is hardly a single plot that the water will irrigate. Therefore you must come, otherwise there is a risk that the plants perish. Your sister Helene greets you, and your mother reproaches you because you have never answered her. . . . I pray that you may be well. Pauni 9.

To a dilatory son.

Milligan, 60.
First century
A.D.

(Addressed)

Deliver from Hermocrates to Chæras his son.

Didymus to his most esteemed Apollonius greeting.

Please accompany Ailourion, who conveys this letter to you, in order that he may buy for us young pigeons for the feast. You are also invited to come down and feast along with us. If you do this, you will have laid up a great store of gratitude at my hands. Greet all your household. Goodbye.

An invitation to a festival.

Milligan, 63.
84 A.D.

The third year of the Imperator Cæsar Domitian Augustus Germanicus, Pachon 15.

The Egyptian month
Pachon,
April 26-
May 26.

(Addressed)

Deliver at Bacchias to the most esteemed Apollonius.

IV. CITY AND COUNTRY LIFE CONTRASTED

Falling
houses.

Juvenal,
Satires, iii.

Scene at a
fire; Ucale-
gon burned
out.

"Buy a
country
home."

(The Pytha-
goreans were
vegetarians;
Greece, 95.)

"You can-
not sleep in
Rome."

(The em-
peror Clau-
dius Drusus
and the sea-

Who fears, or ever has feared, the falling of a house at cool Præneste, or at Volsinii seated among the wooded hills, or at primitive Gabii, or on the heights of sloping Tibur? We inhabit a city propped up to a great extent with thin buttresses; for in this way the steward prevents the houses from falling; and when he has plastered over the gaping of an old crack, he bids us sleep secure, with ruin overhanging us. The place to live in is where there are no fires, no nocturnal alarms.

Already Ucalegon is calling for water, already he is removing his chattels, already your third story is smoking: you yourself know nothing about it; for if the alarm begins from the bottom of the stairs, he will be the last to burn whom the tiling alone protects from the rain, where the soft doves lay their eggs.

If you are capable of being torn away from the games of the Circus, an excellent house can be procured at Sora, or Fabrateria, or Frusino, for the same price at which you now hire a dark hole for a single year. There you have a little garden; and a shallow well, that does not require to be worked with a rope, irrigates your tender plants with easy draught. Live in love with your hoe, and be the overseer of your own trim garden, from which you could furnish a banquet for a hundred Pythagoreans. It is something, in whatever place, to have made yourself the owner of a single lizard.

Many a sick man here dies from want of sleep, the indisposition itself having been produced by food undigested, and clinging to the fevered stomach. For what hired lodgings allow of sleep? Rich men alone can sleep in the city. Hence the origin of the disease. The passage of carriages

in the narrow windings of the streets, and the abuse of the drovers of the herds, when they are brought to a stand, would rob of sleep even Drusus and the sea-calves.

calves were famous sleepers.)

If invited to a "function," the rich man will be carried through the yielding crowd, and will speed over their heads on his huge Liburnian bearers, and will read on his way, or write, or even sleep inside; for a litter with closed windows is productive of sleep. Yet he will arrive before us; we, in our hurry, are impeded by a wave in front, while the multitude which follows us presses on our sides in dense array; one strikes me with his elbow, another with a hard pole, one knocks a beam against my head, another a wine-jar. My legs are sticky with mud; before long I am trodden on upon all sides by large feet, and the hobnails of a soldier stick into my toe. . . .

The rich in litters; the poor on foot.

Observe now the different and distinct dangers of the night; what a height it is to the lofty house-tops, from which a piece of pottery strikes your pate as often as cracked and broken utensils fall from the windows; with what a weight they dint and damage the flint pavement when they strike it. You may well be accounted remiss and improvident about a sudden accident, if you go out to supper without having made your will. . . .

The dangers of the night; falling pottery.

(The drunken and insolent fellow) despises me, whom the moon escorts home, or the dim light of a candle, whose wick I regulate and husband. Mark the preliminaries of the wretched brawl, if brawl it be, where he strikes and I alone am beaten. He stands facing you, and orders you to stand; you must needs obey, for what are you to do when a madman forces you, and he too stronger than yourself? "Whence do you come?" he exclaims. "With whose vinegar, with whose beans are you gorged? What cobbler cut leeks or sodden sheep's-head with you? Do

Drunkards, burglars, and foot-pads.

you answer me nothing? Speak, or be kicked! Tell me where you take up your begging-stand; in what synagogue am I to look for you?" It is all the same whether you try to say anything, or draw back in silence; they beat you just the same; then, as if in passion, they try to make you give bail. This is the liberty of a poor man; after being beaten he prays, and after being thrashed with fisticuffs, he entreats to be allowed to retire from the scene with a few teeth left him. Nor yet are such things all you have to fear; for there will not be wanting one who will plunder you after the houses are closed, and in all directions the fastenings of the chained-up shops are fixed and at rest. . . .

"Off for the country."

To these reasons (for disliking city life) I could add many others; but my steeds summon me, and the sun is declining; I must be off (for the country).

STUDIES

A. 1. Describe the appearance of Claudius. What proves him broad-minded? What points does he make in his speech to the senate?

2. Of what does Nero seem to have been especially fond? Describe his new palace.

3. What administrative measures are here mentioned? Were they wise or the contrary?

4. What is noteworthy in Vespasian's administration?

5. What do we learn from Josephus regarding the besieged Jews? Was their conduct creditable? Who was Josephus and what was the source of his knowledge?

6. Describe the eruption of Vesuvius as Pliny saw it.

7. Give an account of Agricola's reforms in Britain. Why was he recalled?

B. 1. How was a fortune amassed by the freedman Trimalchio? Describe his character.

2. What kind of woman was Murdia? What is the writer's ideal woman?

3. From these letters and documents write out all the points that can be made regarding social and business life in Egypt during this period?

4. What are the relative advantages of city and country life as pictured by Juvenal?

CHAPTER XL

THE PERIOD OF THE FIVE GOOD EMPERORS

I. TRAJAN'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH PLINY, GOVERNOR OF BITHYNIA

**The finances
of a muni-
cipium.**

Pliny, *Letters*, x. 16 (or 28).

The correspondence covers a much wider range of subjects than can be represented here.

**"Send a
surveyor."**

TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN:

I am at present engaged in examining the finances of the Prusenses, their disbursements and credits; and the farther I proceed in this affair, the more I am convinced of the necessity of my inquiry. Several considerable sums of money are owing to the city from private persons, who on various pretences neglect to pay the debts. On the other hand, I find the public funds are in some instances unwarrantably applied.

This, Sir, I write to you immediately on my arrival. I entered this province on the seventeenth of September, and found it in those sentiments of obedience and loyalty which you justly merit from all mankind. You will consider, Sir, whether it would not be proper to send hither a surveyor; for I am inclined to think much might be deducted from what is charged by those who have the conduct of public works, if an accurate measurement were to be taken.

TRAJAN TO PLINY:

The people of that province will be convinced, I persuade myself, that I am attentive to their interests; as your conduct toward them will make it clear that I could have chosen no person better fitted to supply my place. . . . I

have scarcely surveyors enough to inspect those works which I am carrying on in Rome and the neighborhood; but persons of integrity and skill in this art may be found most certainly in every province, if you will make due inquiry.

Letters, x. 17
(or 20).

TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN:

While I was making a journey in a different part of the province, a most destructive fire broke out at Nicomedia, which consumed not only several private houses, but also two public buildings,—the town house and the temple of Isis, though they stood on opposite sides of the street. The cause of its spreading thus wide was partly the violence of the wind, and partly the indolence of the people, who, it appears, stood fixed and idle spectators of this terrible calamity. The truth is that the city was not furnished with engines, buckets, or any single instrument for extinguishing fires. I have now, however, given directions to provide this apparatus.

A fire in the capital.

Pliny, *Letters, x. 42.*

You will consider, Sir, whether it may not be advisable to form a company of firemen, consisting of only a hundred and fifty members. I will take care that none but those of that occupation shall be admitted into it; and that the privileges granted them shall not be extended to any other purpose. As this corporate body will be restricted to so small a number of members, it will be easy to keep them under proper regulations.

“May we have a fire-company?”

TRAJAN TO PLINY:

You are of the opinion that it would be proper to establish a company of firemen in Nicomedia, agreeably to what has been practised in other cities. But remember that societies of this sort have greatly disturbed the peace of the

“Corporations are dangerous.”

Letters, x. 43.

(Private assemblies were forbidden by a law of the Twelve Tables, p. 352.)

provinces in general, and particularly of those cities in which they exist. Whatever name we give them, and for whatever purpose they may be instituted, they will not fail to form themselves into factious assemblies, however short their meetings may be. It will therefore be safer to provide such machines as are of service in extinguishing fires, to enjoin the owners of houses to assist in preventing the mischief from spreading, and if it should be necessary, to call in the aid of the populace.

TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN:

"Shall we compel the councillors to borrow from the public?"

Pliny, *Letters*, x. 62.

The debts which were owing to the public are by the prudence, Sir, of your counsels, and by the care of my administration, either actually paid, or are now recovering; but I fear the money must be unemployed. For on the one hand, there are few or no opportunities of purchasing land, and on the other, one cannot meet with any person who is willing to borrow of the public,—especially at the rate of twelve percent,—when it is possible to raise money on the same terms from private lenders. You will therefore consider, Sir, whether it may not be advisable, in order to invite responsible persons to take this money, to lower the interest; or if that scheme should not succeed, to place it in the hands of the members of the city councils, upon their giving sufficient security to the public. And though they should not be willing to receive it, yet as the rate of interest will be abated, the hardship will be so much the less.

TRAJAN TO PLINY:

"Oppress no one in this way."

Letters, x. 63.

I agree with you, my dear Pliny, that there seems to be no other method of facilitating the placing out of the public money, than by lowering the interest; the rate you will determine according to the number of borrowers. But to

compel persons to receive it, who are not so disposed, when possibly they themselves may have no opportunity of employing it, is by no means consistent with the justice of my government.

II. ENDOWMENT FOR THE SUPPORT OF POOR CHILDREN

When the Emperor Cæsar Nerva Trajan Augustus Germanicus was consul for the fourth time and Quintus Articuleius Pætus was consul, those named below at the direction of our greatest and best Emperor mortgaged their estates so that, from the contract, the Sigures Bæbiani received semi-annual interest, and the boys and girls of the Ligures Bæbiani support, through the tenderness of Trajan.

Also of the estate Pastorianus, in the territory of Beneventum, in the district Æquanus; Priscia Restituta and the people are neighbors to the estate. Rated at 60,000 sesterces; 125,000 sesterces is the value of the property, 8,000 sesterces received, Callistus, servant of Rutilius Lupus pays the interest.

[Many other mortgages also are here recorded.]

III. HADRIAN

Arriving in Gaul, he liberally relieved the needy, and then passed on to Germany. Though more desirous of peace than of war, he exercised his soldiers as if war threatened; he hardened them to fatigue, set them, in his own person, an example of military virtue, and readily ate the food of the camp—bacon, cheese, and vinegar mixed with water; in these respects he imitated Scipio Æmilianus, Metellus, and Trajan, the author of his fortune. To make his men willing to endure hardships, he rewarded many

Under
Trajan.

From an
inscription.

Ancient
World, 487.

Military dis-
cipline.

Spartianus,
Hadrian, 10.

Ancient
World, 487 f.

with money, some with offices. The military discipline, which after Cæsar Octavianus had declined through the neglect of the emperors, Hadrian restored. This he did partly by regulating the offices and the expenses, and partly by suffering no soldier, without due cause, to be absent from the camp. Another means to this end was the appointment of tribunes, not for their popularity with the troops, but because of each one's sense of justice. By his own example, too, he encouraged the rest to strict discipline, for he was accustomed to walk clad in armor twenty miles a day along with his infantry.

He banishes
luxuries.

Dining-rooms, porticos, grottoes. and pleasure-gardens he banished from the camp. He himself generally wore a simple cloak with a plain belt fastened by a buckle without jewels; and by his side hung a sword with no more ornament than an ivory handle. His sick troops he visited in their quarters; and he himself always selected the place for encampment. The office of centurion he conferred on none but those of robust health and good character; no one could be a tribune unless he had a full beard and was old enough to fill his office with prudence and force. A tribune was not permitted to accept the smallest gift from his soldiers.

Delicacies of every kind he removed absolutely from the army; and not only did he improve the arms and the furnishings of the soldiers, but regulated their ages, so as to enlist none too young for effective service and to retain no one longer than the humane law of earlier times prescribed. It was his especial care to know the soldiers individually and to keep informed as to their numbers.

His knowl-
edge of
affairs.

Spartianus,
Hadrian, II.

Furthermore he tried to acquaint himself with the military supplies of the empire, and he examined minutely the revenues from the provinces in order to relieve all needs;

and no emperor was ever so careful to avoid buying and keeping useless material.

When Hadrian had reformed the soldiers of Germany after the pattern of their emperor, he crossed into Britain. In addition to other improvements there, he was the first to build a wall—eighty miles in length—to separate the barbarians from the Romans. . . .

*Rome, 251;
Ancient
World, 487 f.*

Curious to learn the trifling details not only of his own household but of his friends' families as well, he employed detectives to pry into all their secrets. Often his friends failed to discover that their private affairs were known to the emperor till he gave them the information. It may be of interest here to tell a story which shows how well acquainted Hadrian was with the affairs of his friends. One of them received a letter from his wife reproaching him for staying away from home to give himself up to the baths and other pleasures. Immediately a detective informed Hadrian of the contents of this letter. When accordingly the man came to ask a passport, the emperor rebuked him for his devotion to baths and luxurious living. "What!" the man exclaimed, "has my wife been writing this to you, too?" People blamed Hadrian for his prying disposition, as they considered it a grave fault.

**His prying
disposition.**

After the emperor had regulated the affairs of Britain, he returned to Gaul, where he received the unpleasant news of an insurrection in Alexandria over an Apis. As an animal of this kind was discovered after a long interval, the various tribes of Egypt were violently contending for the honor of giving the sacred beast a dwelling-place.

**In Gaul and
Spain.**

*Spartianus,
Hadrian, 12.*

*Ancient
World, 16.*

About the same time Hadrian erected at Nîmes a magnificent basilica in memory of Plotina. Then he went to Spain to winter in Terragona (Lat. Tarraco), where he re-

508 Period of the Five Good Emperors

paired at his own expense a temple to Augustus, and held a general assembly of the Spanish provincials.

In Greece and Asia Minor.

Spartianus, *Hadrian*, 13.

(For the Eleusinian mysteries, see *Greece*, 97

(Afterward he visited Greece,) where like Hercules and King Philip he had himself initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. He not only conferred many benefits on the Athenians, but sat as judge in their public games. Then he sailed for Sicily. After his arrival there, he climbed Mount Ætna to view a sunrise, which from that spot was beautified with the varied colors of the rainbow. Thence he returned to Rome; but setting out immediately for the Orient, he travelled through Athens, where he dedicated the works he had begun, including a temple to the Olympian Jupiter (Zeus) and an altar to himself.

In the same way, as he journeyed through Asia, he consecrated temples in his own name. In Cappadocia he engaged many slaves for labor in the military camps. (Wherever he went, he busied himself with winning the friendship and alliance of foreign kings.) . . . In his circuit of the provinces he punished procurators and governors with such severity that people believed he had himself incited persons to accuse them.

Rome, 205.

His laws.

Spartianus, *Hadrian*, 18.

In judicial affairs he made up his council, not of friends and companions but of learned jurists,—Julius Celsus, Salvius Julianus, Neratius Priscus, and others,—only those, however, whom the senate had approved.

Among his enactments the following are most noteworthy:

In no city shall buildings be destroyed for the use of the material in some other city.

To children of condemned persons a twelfth part of their father's property shall be allowed.

Charges of treason shall not be admitted.

Bequests to the emperor from unknown persons shall be

rejected, and none shall be received from known persons if they have children.

As to hidden treasures, if one shall find such a treasure on his own estate, he shall possess the treasure; if on another's, he shall give half to the owner of the estate; if on public ground, he shall divide equally with the imperial treasury.

Slaves shall not be killed by their masters. Those who deserve death shall be condemned by judges only.

The sale of men and women slaves as gladiators or for vile purposes is forbidden, provided no sufficient reason for such sale exists.

There shall be no houses of correction (*ergastula*) for slaves or freedmen.

In case a master is assassinated in his own house, not all his slaves shall be examined, but those only who are near enough to the master to know something of the deed.

Though everywhere he erected countless buildings, he inscribed his name on none of them excepting the temple to his father Trajan. At Rome he restored the Pantheon (of Agrippa), the Sæpta, the Basilica of Neptune, very many sacred buildings, the Forum of Augustus, and the Baths of Agrippa. All these works he dedicated with the names of their founders. Under his own name he built a bridge across the Tiber, and near it a mausoleum.

Hadrian was tall, well-built, and of robust constitution. He curled his hair with a comb, and wore his beard long to cover the natural defects of his face. It was his habit to ride on horseback or to walk, and he constantly exercised himself in arms and in throwing the javelin. While hunting he often killed a lion with his own hand; but once he broke his collar-bone and a rib. The game he always shared with his friends. At his dinners his guests were en-

**Public
works.**

Spartianus,
Hadrian, 19.

**Personal
appearance.**

Spartianus,
Hadrian, 26.

510 Period of the Five Good Emperors

tertained by tragedies, comedies, and farces, as well as by harp music, reading, and poetry. His villa at Tibur he built with such wonderful art that one could find in it representations of celebrated places, as the Lyceum, the Academy, the Prytaneum, Canopus, Tempe,—and that nothing might be wanting, an imitation of the realm of death.

IV. SOME OF THE THOUGHTS OF MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS

From his
parents and
teachers.

From the reputation and remembrance of my father I learned modesty and manliness.

Marcus
Aurelius,
Meditations,
i. 2-9, 12, 14.

From my mother, piety and beneficence, and abstinence not only from evil deeds, but even from evil thoughts; simplicity, too, in my way of living, far removed from the habits of the rich.

Harmony
with nature.

Never value anything as profitable to thyself which shall compel thee to break thy promise, to lose thy self-respect, to hate any man, to suspect, to curse, to act the hypocrite, to desire anything which needs walls and curtains.

Meditations,
iii. 7.

As physicians have always their instruments and knives ready for cases which suddenly require their skill, so do thou have principles ready for the understanding of things divine and human, and for doing everything, even the smallest, with a recollection of the bond which unites the divine and human to each other. For neither wilt thou do anything well which pertains to man without at the same time having a reference to things divine; or the contrary.

Ib. iii. 13.

Take away thy opinion, and then there is taken away the complaint, "I have been harmed." Take away the complaint, "I have been harmed," and the harm is taken away.

Ib. iv. 7.

Everything harmonizes with me, which is harmonious to thee, O Universe. Nothing for me is too early or too late,

Ib. iv. 23.

which is in due time for thee. Everything is fruit to me which thy seasons bring, O Nature; from thee are all things, in thee are all things, and to thee all things return.

Constantly regard the universe as one living being, having one substance and one soul; and observe how all things have reference to one perception, the perception of this one living being; and how all things act with one movement; and how all things are the coöperating causes of all things which exist. *Ib. iv. 40.*

A prayer of the Athenians: "Rain, rain, O dear Zeus, down on the plowed fields of the Athenians, and on the plains." In truth we ought not to pray at all, or we ought to pray in this simple and noble fashion. *Ib. v. 7.*

How hast thou behaved hitherto to the gods, thy parents, brethren, children, teachers, to those who looked after thy infancy, to thy friends, kinsfolk, to thy slaves? Consider if thou hast hitherto behaved to all in such a way that this may be said of thee,— *Ib. v. 31.*

Never has wronged a man in deed or word.

Let it make no difference to thee whether thou art cold or warm, if thou art doing thy duty; and whether thou art drowsy or satisfied with sleep; and whether ill-spoken of or praised; and whether dying or doing something else. For it is one of the acts of life—this act by which we die; it is sufficient then in this act also to do well what we have in hand. *Meditations, vi. 2.*

Death is a cessation of the impressions through the senses, and of the pulling of the strings which move the appetites . . . and of service to the flesh. *Ib. vi. 28.*

All things are implicated with one another, and the bond is holy; and there is hardly anything unconnected with any other thing. For things have been coördinated, and *Ib. vii. 9.*

512 Period of the Five Good Emperors

they combine to form the same universe. For there is one universe made up of all things, and one God who pervades all things, and one substance and one law, one common reason in all intelligent animals, and one truth.

Do right on principle.

Meditations,
viii. 43.

Different things delight different people. But it is my delight to keep the ruling faculty sound, without turning away either from any man or from any of the things which happen to men, but looking at and receiving all with welcome eyes and using everything according to its value.

Ib. x. 5.

Whatever may happen to thee, it was prepared for thee from all eternity; and the implication of causes was from eternity spinning the thread of thy being.

Ib. x. 10.

A spider is proud when he has caught a fly, and another being when he has caught a poor hare, and another when he has taken a little fish in a net, and another when he has taken wild boars, and another when he has taken bears, and another when he has taken Sarmatians. Are not these robbers, if thou examinest their opinions?

Ib. x. 21.

"The earth loves the shower;" and the "solemn ether loves;" and the universe loves to reproduce whatever is about to be. I say then to the universe, "I love as thou lovest."

Ib. xi. 29.

Neither in writing nor in reading wilt thou be able to lay down rules for others before thou shalt have first learned to obey rules thyself. Much more is this so in life.

Ib., xi. 36.

No man can rob us of our free will.

Future life.

Meditations,
xxi. 5.

How can it be that the gods, after having arranged all things well and benevolently for mankind, have overlooked this alone, that some men and very good men, and men who, as we may say, have had most communion with the divinity, and through pious acts and religious observances have been most intimate with the divinity,

when they have once died should never exist again, but should be completely extinguished?

How small a part of the boundless and unfathomable time is assigned to every man! For it is very soon swallowed up in the eternal. And how small a part of the whole substance! And how small a part of the universal soul! And on what a small clod of the whole earth thou creepest! Reflecting on all this, consider nothing to be great, except to act as thy nature leads thee, and to endure that which the common nature brings. *Ib. xii. 32.*

Man, thou hast been a citizen in this great state (of the world): what difference does it make to thee whether for five years or for three? For that which conforms to the laws is just for all. Where is the hardship then, if no tyrant nor yet an unjust judge sends thee away from the state, but nature, who brought thee into it? The same as if a prætor who has employed an actor dismisses him from the stage. "I have not finished the five acts, but only three." Thou sayest well, but in life the three acts are the whole drama; for what shall be a completed drama is determined by him who was once the cause of its composition, and now of its dissolution: but thou art the cause of neither. Depart then satisfied, for he also who releases thee is satisfied. *Ib. xii. 36.*

V. SOME TEACHINGS OF EPICTETUS

When some one asked, how may a man eat acceptably to the gods, he answered: If he can eat justly and contentedly, and with equanimity, and temperately and orderly, will it not be also acceptable to the gods? But when you have asked for warm water and the slave has not heard, or if he did hear has brought only tepid water, or he is not even found to be in the house, then not to be **Do everything acceptably to the gods.**
Epictetus i. 13.

All are
brothers, the
sons of God.

vexed or to burst with passion—is not this acceptable to the gods?—How then shall a man endure such persons as this slave? Slave yourself, will you not bear with your brother? . . . Will you not remember who you are, and whom you rule? that they are kinsmen, that they are brethren by nature, that they are the offspring of Zeus?—But I have purchased them, and they have not purchased me. Do you see in what direction you are looking, that it is toward the earth, toward the pit, that it is towards these wretched laws of dead men? but toward the laws of the gods, you are not looking.

The Deity
oversees all.

Ib. 14.

When a person asked him how a man could be convinced that all his actions are under the inspection of God, he answered, Do you not think that all things are united in one? I do, the person replied. Well, do you not think that earthly things have a natural agreement and union with heavenly things? I do. And how else so regularly as if by God's command, when He bids the plants to flower, do they flower? when he bids them to send forth shoots, do they shoot? when He bids them to produce fruit, how else do they produce fruit? when He bids the fruit to ripen, does it ripen? when again He bids them to cast down the fruits, how else do they cast them down? and when to shed the leaves, do they shed the leaves? and when He bids them to fold themselves up and to remain quiet and rest, how else do they remain quiet and rest? And how else at the growth and wane of the moon, and at the approach and recession of the sun, are so great an alteration and change to the contrary seen in earthly things?

Souls much
nearer to
God than
material
things.

But are plants and our bodies so bound up and united with the whole, and are not our souls much more? and our souls so bound up and in contact with God as parts of

Him and portions of Him; and does not God perceive every motion of these parts as being his own motion con-nate with himself? Now are you able to think of the divine administration, and about all things divine, and at the same time also about human affairs, and to be moved by ten thousand things at the same time in your senses and in your understanding, and to assent to some, and to dissent from others, and again as to some things to suspend your judgment; and do you retain in your soul so many impressions from so many and various things, and being moved by them, do you fall upon notions similar to those first impressed, and do you retain numerous arts and the memories of ten thousand things; and is not God able to oversee all things, and to be present with all, and to receive from all a certain communication? And is the sun able to illuminate so large a portion of the All, and to leave so little not illuminated, that part only which is occupied by the earth's shadow; and He who made the sun itself and makes it go round, being a small part of himself compared with the whole, cannot He perceive all things?

God can see more than the sun.

But I cannot, the man may reply, comprehend all these things at once. But who tells you that you have equal power with Zeus? Nevertheless he has placed by every man a guardian, every man's spirit, to whom he has committed the care of the man, a guardian who never sleeps, is never deceived. For to what better and more careful guardian could He have intrusted each of us? When then you have shut the doors and made darkness within, remember never to say that you are alone, for you are not; but God is within, and your Spirit is within, and what need have they of light to see what you are doing? To this God you ought to swear an oath, just as the soldiers

The Spirit is a good guide.

do to Cæsar. But they who are hired for pay swear to regard the safety of Cæsar before all things; and you who have received so many and such great favors, will you not swear, or when you have sworn, will you not abide by your oath? And what shall you swear? Never to be disobedient, never to make any charges, never to find fault with anything that he has given, and never unwillingly to do or to suffer anything that is necessary. Is this oath like the soldier's oath? The soldiers swear not to prefer any man to Cæsar: in this oath men swear to honor themselves before all.

VI. REGULATIONS OF A BURIAL SOCIETY

Decree
of the
senate cited.

From an
inscription.

Resolutions
of the society
itself.

“Who may meet, assemble, and have a corporation; those who shall be willing to pay a monthly contribution for funerals, may meet in that association (*collegium*) and may not converge more than once a month under guise of that association, this session being for the sake of collecting a fund from which the dead may be buried.” May it be favorable, fortunate and wholesome to the emperor Cæsar Trajan Hadrian Augustus and to the entire house of the same, to us and ours, and to our association—both well and earnestly shall we engage ourselves honorably to escort the departure of the dead. Therefore we one and all of us must be harmonious in making proper contributions in order that we may endure a long time. Thou too who wilt desire to enter this association as a novice, first read through the statute and then enter, lest thou complain afterward or leave a controversy to thine heir.

Admissions.

About \$4.

It was unanimously adopted, that whosoever shall desire to enter this association will give on score of entrance-fee one hundred sesterces and one amphora of good wine, likewise per month five asses. Furthermore it was adopted,

that whoever in six consecutive months does not render his dues and something human happen to him, no regard shall be paid to his funeral, even if he has made a will. Likewise it was adopted that whoever of our association dies with his dues paid, to him shall go 300 sesterces from our treasury, from which sum there shall be subtracted on account of funeral 50 sesterces which shall be allotted for cremation; the exequies shall be made on foot. . . .

Payments for
burial.

Likewise it was voted that whatever slave in this association shall die, and his body through the unfairness of his master shall not be given for burial and he shall have made no record, he shall get an imaginary funeral. Likewise it was voted that whoever for any cause whatever shall commit suicide, his funeral shall be ignored.

Decease of
slave mem-
bers.

Likewise it was voted that whatever slave of this association shall become free, he will have to give an amphora of good wine. Likewise it was voted: whoever shall be director in his own year in the order of the list for arranging a dinner, and he shall not observe it and not do it, he will pay 30 sesterces into the treasury, his successor will be obliged to give it, and he will have to restore it in his place.

Emancipa-
tion gift.

[The document contains many other resolutions.]

VII. LETTERS OF THIS PERIOD

To Sarapion general . . . from Tarmuthis, the daughter of Phimon, vegetable-seller, belonging to the village of Bacchias, at present without a guardian. On the 4th of the current month Pharmouthi, Taorsenouphis, the wife of Ammonius, also called Phimon, elder of the village of Bacchias, although she had absolutely no ground of complaint against me, came into my house and picked a sense-

Petition re-
garding a
robbery.

Milligan,
*Greck
Papyri*, 74.
114 A.D.

518 Period of the Five Good Emperors

Pharmouthi;
March 27—
April 25.

less quarrel against me. Not only did she strip off my tunic and mantle, but robbed me in the quarrel of the sum which I had lying by me from the price of the vegetables I had sold, namely, 16 drachmas. And on the 5th of the same month there came this woman's husband Ammonius, also Phimon, into my house as if seeking my husband. Seizing my lamp, he went up into my house and stole and carried off a pair of bracelets of unstamped silver of the weight of 40 drachmas, my husband being at the time away from home. I beg therefore that you will cause the accused to be brought before you for fitting punishment. May good fortune attend you.

Tarmuthis about 30 years old, a mark on the right foot.

The 17th year of the Emperor Cæsar Nerva Trajanus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus. Pharmouthi 6.

A soldier
to his
father.

Milligan, 90.

Second cen-
tury A.D.

Apion to Epimachus his father and lord heartiest greetings. First of all I pray that you are in health and continually prosper and fare well with my sister and her daughter and my brother. I thank the lord Serapis that when I was in danger at sea he saved me. Straightway when I entered Misenum I received my travelling money from Cæsar, three gold pieces. And I am well. I beg you therefore, my lord father, write me a few lines, first regarding your health, secondly regarding that of my brother and sister, thirdly that I may kiss your hand, because you have brought me up well, and on this account I hope to be quickly promoted, if the gods will. Give many greetings to Capito, and to my brother and sister, and to Serenilla, and my friends. I send you a little portrait of myself at the hands of Euctemon. And my (military) name is Antonius Maximus. I pray for your good health.

Company Athenonike.

Serenus the son of Agathos Dæmon greets you . . . and Turbo the son of Gallpnus.

(Addressed)

To Philadelphia for Epimachus from his son Apion.

Give this to the (office of the) first cohort of the Apamæans to Julianus . . . paymaster from Apion, so that (he may forward it) to Epimachus his father.

Theon to Theon his father, greeting. You did a fine thing! You have not taken me away along with you to the city! If you refuse to take me along with you to Alexandria, I won't write you a letter, or speak to you, or wish you health. And if you do go to Alexandria, I won't take your hand, or greet you henceforth. If you refuse to take me, that's what's up! And my mother said to Archelaus, "He upsets me; off with him!" But you did a fine thing! You send me gifts, great ones, husks!! They deceived us here on the 12th, when you sailed. Send for me then, I beseech you. If you do not send, I won't eat, won't drink! There now! I pray for your health. Tubi 18.

A boy to his father.

Milligan, 102.

About 200
A.D.

Tubi, Dec.
27-Jan. 25.

(Addressed) Deliver to Theon from Theonas his son.

STUDIES

1. What proof does this correspondence with Pliny afford of Trajan's interest in the welfare of the empire? of his energy and activity? of his justice and humanity? Why did he forbid the organization of a fire-company (cf. a law of the *Twelve Tables*, p. 352)? From the same correspondence what may we infer as to Pliny's qualifications for the governorship of a province? Why did he refer everything to the emperor? Do you suppose that other governors did the same? Was his interference in the affairs of the cities (municipia) advantageous to the latter? In what case was Pliny ready to resort to oppression?

520 Period of the Five Good Emperors

2. What is the meaning of this document connected with the endowment of poor children?

3. What were the objects of Hadrian's travels? How did he improve the army? What public works did he build? Why did Hadrian pry into the affairs of his friends? In what respects was his inquiring disposition praiseworthy? What were Hadrian's chief laws? What improvements did they make in the condition of freemen and of slaves? How did he benefit the provinces? Did he pay more attention to the provinces than to Rome? What public works did he build? Describe the personal appearance and the private character of Hadrian. What is your opinion of the style of his biographer (Spartianus)? Is it well connected and logical?

4. How does Marcus Aurelius make himself harmonious with nature? What is his idea of right conduct? of future life?

5. What according to Epictetus should be the conduct of man in relation to God? How does he prove that God sees all? How are human beings related to one another and to God?

6. What was the object of this burial society? What senatorial decree permitted such societies?

7. From these letters make out all the facts you can regarding life in Egypt at this time. Why are such documents found in Egypt rather than elsewhere?

CHAPTER XLI

EARLY HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY

TO DIOCLETIAN

I. TEACHINGS OF JESUS

AND seeing the multitudes, he went up into a mountain, and when he was set, his disciples came unto him:

And he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying,

Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.

Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.

Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.

Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.

Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.

Blessed are the peace-makers: for they shall be called the children of God.

Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness's sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake.

Beginning of the Sermon on the Mount.

Matthew v.
1-11.

Ancient World, 511-3.

II. THE DEATH AND RESURRECTION OF JESUS: THE APOSTLES

In the latter days of the emperor Tiberius, in the consulship of Ruberius Geminus and Fufius Geminus, on the

Death and resurrection.

Lactantius,
*The Manner
in which the
Persecutors
died*, ii.

Date of the
crucifixion,
March 23,
29 A.D.
Elsewhere
the day of
the month is
differently
stated. Pos-
sibly the
report of
Pontius
Pilate gave
Lactantius
his informa-
tion.

The apostles.

tenth of the Calends of April, as I find it written, Jesus Christ was crucified by the Jews. After He had risen again on the third day, He gathered His apostles, whom fear at the time of His arrest had put to flight; and while He sojourned with them forty days, He opened their hearts, interpreted to them the Scripture, which hitherto had been wrapped in obscurity, ordained and fitted them for the preaching of His word and doctrine, and regulated all things concerning the institutions of the New Testament. When this was accomplished, a cloud and whirlwind enveloped Him and caught him up from the sight of men into heaven.

His apostles were at that time eleven in number, to whom were added Matthias, in place of the traitor Judas, and afterward Paul. Then were they dispersed throughout all the earth to preach the Gospel, as the Lord their Master had commanded them. During twenty-five years, until the beginning of the reign of the emperor Nero, they occupied themselves in laying the foundations of the Church in every province and city. And while Nero ruled, the Apostle Peter came to Rome, and through the power of God committed unto him, wrought certain miracles; and by turning many to the true religion, he built up a faithful and steadfast temple unto the Lord.

III. PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS BY NERO

The charge
brought
against
them.

Tacitus, *Annals*, xv. 44.

To get rid of the report (that he had ordered the fire), Nero fastened the guilt and inflicted the most exquisite tortures on a class hated for their abominations, called Christians by the populace. Christus, from whom the name had its origin, suffered the extreme penalty during the reign of Tiberius at the hands of one of our procurators, Pontius Pilate, and a most mischievous superstition,

thus checked for the moment, broke out not only in Judæa, the first source of the evil, but even in Rome, where all things hideous and shameful from every part of the world find their centre and become popular. Accordingly an arrest was first made of all who pleaded guilty; then, upon their information, an immense multitude was convicted, not so much of the crime of firing the city, as of hatred against mankind. Mockery of every sort was added to their deaths. Covered with the skins of beasts, they were torn by dogs and perished, or were nailed to crosses, or were doomed to the flames and burnt, to serve as a nightly illumination when daylight had expired.

Nero offered his gardens for the spectacle, and was exhibiting a show in the circus, while he mingled with the people in the dress of a charioteer or stood aloft on a car. Hence, even for criminals who deserved extreme and exemplary punishment, there arose a feeling of compassion; for it was not, as it seemed, for the public good, but to glut one man's cruelty, that they were being destroyed.

IV. PLINY'S INQUIRY CONCERNING THEM, AND TRAJAN'S ANSWER

TO THE EMPEROR TRAJAN:

It is a rule, Sir, which I inviolably observe, to refer to you in all my doubts; for who is more able to remove my scruples or to inform my ignorance? As I have never before been present at any trials of persons called Christians, I am unacquainted, not only with the nature of their crimes and the degree of their punishment, but how far it is proper to enter into an examination of them. . . .

Meanwhile the method I have followed toward those who have been brought before me as Christians is this: I asked them whether they were Christians; if they con-

Manner of their execution.

There seems to have been some kind of trial; but it was certainly not conducted in a fair spirit, and the Christians were convicted on false testimony

The Christians.

Pliny, *Letters*, x. 97.

fessed, I repeated the question twice, adding threats; and if they still persevered, I ordered them to be immediately punished. For I was persuaded, whatever the nature of their opinions might be, a contumacious and inflexible obstinacy deserved correction. . . .

They affirm the whole of their guilt, or their error, was that they met on a certain stated day before it was light, and addressed themselves in a form of prayer to Christ, as to some god, binding themselves by a solemn oath, not for the purpose of any wicked deed, but never to commit any fraud, theft, or adultery; never to falsify their word, nor deny a trust when they should be called upon to deliver it up; afterward, they said, it was their custom to separate, and then reassemble, to eat in common a harmless meal. . . .

I deemed it expedient, therefore, to adjourn all further proceedings, in order to consult you. For it appears to be a matter highly deserving your consideration; more especially as great numbers must be involved in the danger of these prosecutions, which have already extended, and are still likely to extend, to persons of all ranks and ages and even to both sexes.

TRAJAN TO PLINY:

"Be just,
but do not
meddle."

Letters, x. 98.

The method you have pursued, my dear Pliny, in the proceedings against those Christians who were brought before you is extremely proper, as it is not possible to lay down any fixed rule by which to act in all cases of this nature. But I would not have you enter officiously into any inquiries concerning them. If they should be brought before you, however, and the charge should be proved, they must be punished,—yet with this restriction that in case a person denies he is a Christian, and shall make it

evident that he is not, by invoking our gods, let him be pardoned upon repentance.

Informations without the accuser's name subscribed ought not to be received in prosecutions of any kind; as it is introducing a very dangerous precedent, by no means agreeable to the equity of my government.

V. PERSECUTION UNDER DECIOUS

This long peace, however, was afterward interrupted. Decius appeared in the world, an accursed wild beast, to afflict the Church—and who but a bad man would persecute religion? It seems as if he had been raised to sovereign eminence, at once to rage against God and at once to fall; for undertaking an expedition against the Carpi, who had then possessed themselves of Dacia and Mœsia, he was suddenly surrounded by the barbarians and slain, together with a great part of his army. Nor could he be honored with the rites of sepulture; but stripped and naked, he lay, to be devoured by wild beasts and birds—a fit end for the enemy of God.

The persecutor is punished.

Lactantius, *The Manner in which the Persecutors died*, iv.

Decius, a soldier emperor, 249–251 A.D.

To those chosen to superintend the sacrifices at the village of Alexander-Island, from Aurelius Diogenes, the son of Satabus, of the village of Alexander-Island, being about 72 years old, a scar on the right eyebrow. It has always been my custom to sacrifice to the gods, and now in your presence in accordance with the decrees I have sacrificed and poured libations and tasted the offerings, and I request you to counter-sign my statement. May good fortune attend you. I, Aurelius Diogenes, have made this request. (2nd hand) I, Aurelius Syrus, as a participant have certified Diogenes as sacrificing along with us. (1st hand). The first year of the Emperor Cæsar

Certificate of sacrifice.

Milligan, *Greek Papyri*, 114–6.

This certificate is to show that the bearer is not a Christian.

Epeiph,
June 25-
July 24.

Gaius Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius Pius Felix Augustus, Epeiph 2.

He decides
which party
is orthodox.

Eusebius,
*Ecclesiastical
History*, vii.
25.

VI. AURELIAN'S DECISION OF THE BISHOPRIC OF ANTIOCH

So then, as Paul had fallen from the bishopric as well as from the orthodox faith, Domnus, as was said before, succeeded him as Bishop of the Church of Antioch. But as Paul entirely refused to leave the church-house, petition was made to the emperor Aurelian, and he made a very just decision of the matter, by ordering the house to be given up to those with whom the bishops of the religion in Italy and Rome held intercourse.

STUDIES

1. What ideal of life is presented in this selection?
2. What account does Eusebius give of the death and resurrection of Jesus? Where may we find earlier accounts of these events? What did the Apostles then do? Where did St. Peter go?
3. What is said to have been Nero's motive for persecuting the Christians? What is the attitude of Tacitus toward the Christians? Was this severe treatment a persecution of their religion or an excessive punishment for an alleged but unproved crime?
4. How does Pliny describe the Christians of his province? What does he ask Trajan and what is the answer?
5. What account does Lactantius give of the Emperor Decius? Why should the person mentioned in the certificate wish to prove himself a pagan?
6. In what way is it significant that a pagan emperor should decide a question between two rival Christian sects? Whom did he consider the leading authorities in Christendom?

CHAPTER XLII

THE ABSOLUTE MONARCHY

I. VALERIUS DIOCLETIAN

BUT when the stench of the body revealed the crime, through the leaders and tribunes of the army Valerius Diocletian, commander of the bodyguard of the palace, was chosen Emperor because of his wisdom; he was a great man, but nevertheless he had his faults; for example, he, the chief of men, coveted the influence of gold-embroidered garments, of shoes of purple and gems, and silks from the far East. And while such vanities were unworthy of a citizen and indicated a proud, vain spirit, they are notwithstanding insignificant in comparison with what follows: For he was the first Emperor since Caligula and Domitian who allowed himself to be called lord openly, and to be worshiped and invoked as a deity. Wherefore as far as I can judge, I have come to the conclusion that men of the humblest birth, especially when they have reached the heights, are arrogant and very fond of display. Such a man was Marius of the time of our forefathers; he was as eager for it as the starving are gluttonous when suddenly revived by food. Hence it seems strange to me that many assign haughtiness to the nobles who, mindful of their patrician blood, have at least as compensation for the trials by which they are agitated, something to make them haughty. But these faults of Valerius have been overshadowed by excellent traits; and though he permitted himself to be called master, he acted as a parent;

Accession and character.

Aurelius Victor, *Diocletian* (from his *Cæsars*).

Ancient World, 507 ff.

The opening words refer to the discovery of the death of Numerianus, his predecessor.

thus it is quite evident that the wise prince wished to prove that barbarous deeds are harmful, not names. . . .

Maximianus. Need I recall that he associated with him in power many citizens and foreigners, for the sake of protecting and extending the rights of the Roman Empire? For when he learned that after the removal of Carinus, Ælianus and Amandus had stirred up in Gaul a band of peasants and robbers whom the inhabitants call Bagaudæ, and had devastated the fields far and wide and attacked many cities, he immediately made Maximianus, his faithful friend, emperor although the latter was not a cultivated man. Afterward Maximianus added the cognomen Herculus to his name, because of his devotion to the cult of the god Hercules, just as Valerius took the name of Jovius from Jove; whence they also gave these names to those auxiliary troops that distinguished themselves greatly in the army. . . .

Carinus,
brother of
Numerianus,
had likewise
been emperor.

The Cæsars. The two existing emperors associated with themselves as Cæsars, Julius, Constantius and Galerius, Maximianus, whose family name was Armentarius. The former married a step-daughter of Herculus, the latter a daughter of Diocletian; both divorced their wives, just as Augustus had done formerly when he had commanded Tiberius Nero to marry his daughter Julia. All of these princes were born in Illyricum; and though they were of little culture, nevertheless since they were inured to the hardships of the country and of the battle-field, they rendered good service to the state. Hence it is evident that calamities are the best teachers of goodness and wisdom, while on the other hand, men who have never had troubles, are prone to judge all men in accordance with their wealth and have themselves but little insight. But the harmony among the rulers proves conclusively that their natural

qualities and the experience in military affairs which they had gained under Aurelian and Probus, practically took the place of those virtues that they did not have. Finally they were honoring Valerius as a parent or even as a great god; a thing which, whatsoever its nature, stands out in relief in comparison with the usual crimes among relatives from the founding of the city to our own time.

Aurelian;
*Ancient
World*, 504-6.
Probus,
emperor,
shortly after
Aurelian.

And because the difficulty of the wars, of which I have spoken above, was felt more keenly every day, the two Emperors and the two Cæsars divided the empire as it were among themselves. To Constantius were entrusted all the Gallic provinces across the Alps; to Herculus Africa and Italy; to Galerius, the shores of Illyricum even to the Black Sea; Valerius retained for himself the rest of the empire. Soon afterward therefore a great burden of taxation was laid upon a part of Italy. Heretofore all Italy furnished the same sum by means of which army and Emperor, who always or practically always had their residence in Italy, were supported; then a new law was introduced in regard to taxation. True, it was endurable because moderate at first; but in these days the tax has become an intolerable burden. . . .

Division of
commands.

With like zeal, the duties of peace were safeguarded by wise and just laws; and the Emperors dispensed with the officials called grain commissioners (*frumentarii*), men of evil repute whose duties resembled most nearly those of the Agents of to-day. These officials, who seem to have been elected for the purpose of spying and reporting those disturbances which arise in the provinces, and who basely invented criminal accusations and robbed left and right, were spreading fear everywhere, especially among those farthest away from Rome. The grain supply of the city and the safety of tributaries were carefully and anxiously

Administra-
tion.

looked into; by recompensing merit on the one hand, and by forbidding every shameful deed on the other, the Emperors were arousing an enthusiasm for right-conduct. They observed the ancient faith reverently and piously. Furthermore, Rome, with its seven hills, and other cities, noticeably Carthage, Milan, and Nicomedia, were marvelously adorned with beautiful buildings. Yet these Emperors, despite their good deeds, were not without faults. Herculus, for instance, behaved in so licentious a manner that he did not curb his passions even in the case of hostages. Valerius showed but little faith in his friends, doubtless through fear of discord, while he thought that the peace of the rulers might be disturbed through false reports. Also the strength of Rome, so to speak, was maimed by diminishing the number of the pretorian cohorts and of the people in arms; wherefore indeed many historians say that he abdicated the Empire. For when he was investigating the future, he learned from fate of the internal calamities and of a crash as it were threatening the Roman state; whereupon although still powerful, he gave up the care of the state after he had reigned twenty years; and with very great difficulty he compelled Herculus to do likewise. . . . And although the truth is obscured because of the variety of opinions in regard to the abdication, nevertheless we think that he assumed a humble life because of his fine nature—a nature that spurned ostentation.

I. e. Maximian.

II. DIOCLETIAN'S EDICT OF PRICES

Introduction.

From an *inscription*,
quoted by
Duruy, *History of Rome*,
vii. 401.

All men know that articles of traffic and objects of daily use have attained exorbitant prices, four or eight times their true value, or even more than that; so that, through the avarice of monopolists, the provisioning of our armies

becomes impossible. We have determined therefore to fix, not the price of these articles, which would be unjust, but the amount which in each case they will not be allowed to exceed.

ITEMS										
Rye (per bushel)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	\$0.45	Selection from his list
Oats " "	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.22	
Common wine (per quart)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.22	<i>Ib.</i>
" oil " "	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.18	
Pork (per lb.)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.07	
Beef " "	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.05	
Mutton and goat's flesh (per lb.)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.05	
Lard, first quality	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.09	
A pair of chickens	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.26	
" " " ducks	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.17	
A rabbit	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.17	
Oysters (a hundred)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.43	
Eggs " "	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.43	
Field-laborer's wages (and food) a day	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.11	
Mason or carpenter's wages (and food) a day	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.22	
House painter's " " " " "	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.32	
Shepherd's " " " " "	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.09	
Barber's wages (per person)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.09	
Reading-master's wages (per month, one pupil)	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.22	
To the rhetorician or sophist " " "	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.09	
" " lawyer for an inquiry	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1.09	
Woman's slippers	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0.22	

III. PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS BY DIOCLETIAN

And now Diocletian raged, not only against his own domestics, but indiscriminately against all; and he began by forcing his daughter Valeria and his wife Prisca to be polluted by sacrificing. . . . Presbyters and other officers of the Church were seized, without evidence by witnesses or confession, condemned, and together with their families led to execution. In burning alive no distinction

**Severest of
all persecu-
tions.**

*Lactantius,
The Manner
in which the
Persecutors
died, xiv.*

of sex or age was regarded; and because of their great multitude they were not burnt one after another, but a herd of them were encircled by the same fire; and servants with millstones tied about their necks were cast into the sea. . . . Orders also had gone to Maximian Herculus and Constantius, requiring their concurrence in the execution of the edicts; for in matters even of such mighty importance their opinion was never asked. A person of no merciful temper, Herculus yielded ready obedience, and enforced the edicts throughout his dominions of Italy. Constantius, on the other hand, lest he should have seemed to dissent from the injunction of his superiors, permitted the demolition of churches—mere walls, capable of being built up again—but he preserved entire that true temple of God, which is the human body.

IV. THE TOLERATION EDICT OF GALERIUS

Failure of
persecution
acknowledged.

Lactantius,
*The Manner
in which the
Persecutors
died*, xxxiv.

Amongst our other arrangements, which we are always making for the use and profit of the commonwealth, we for our part had heretofore endeavored to set all things right according to the ancient laws and public order of the Romans, and to compass this also that the Christians too who had left the persuasion of their own fathers should return to a better mind; seeing that through some strange reasoning such wilfulness had seized the Christians and such folly possessed them, that, instead of following those constitutions of the ancients which peradventure their own ancestors had first established, they were making themselves laws for their own observance, merely according to their own judgment and as their pleasure was, and in divers places were assembling sundry sorts of peoples.

In short, when a command of ours had been set forth to the effect that they were to betake themselves to the

institutions of the ancients, many of them were subdued by danger, many also ruined; yet when great numbers held to their determination, and we saw that they neither gave worship and due reverence to the gods, nor yet regarded the God of the Christians—we therefore in consideration of our most mild clemency, and of the unbroken custom whereby we are used to grant pardon to all men, have thought it right in this case also to offer our speediest indulgence, that Christians may exist again, and may establish their meetings, yet so that they do nothing contrary to good order. By another letter we shall signify to magistrates how they should proceed. Wherefore, in accordance with this indulgence of ours, they will be bound to pray their God for our good estate, and that of the commonwealth, and their own, that the commonwealth may endure on every side unharmed, and they may be able to live securely in their own homes.

A change of policy announced.

Ib.

Ancient World, 514.

He asks their prayers.

V. THE BATTLE OF THE MILVIAN BRIDGE

And now a civil war broke out between Constantine and Maxentius. . . . At length Constantine, with steady courage and a mind prepared for every event, led his whole force to the neighborhood of Rome, and encamped them opposite the Milvian Bridge. . . . Constantine was directed in a dream to cause the heavenly sign to be delineated on the shields of his soldiers, and so to proceed to battle. He did as he had been commanded, and he marked on their shields the letter X with a perpendicular line drawn through it and turned round thus at the top ✠ being a cipher of Christ. Wearing this sign, his soldiers stood to arms. The enemies advanced but without their emperor, and they crossed the bridge. The armies met and fought with the utmost exertion of valor, and firmly

The monogram of Christ.

Lactantius, *The Manner in which the Persecutors died*, xlv.

Ancient World, 514 f.

The Greek letter X is equivalent to our Ch; the curious P in the centre is our R, making Chr.

maintained their ground. . . . (Relying on a Sibylline prophecy, Maxentius joined his army.) The bridge in his rear was broken down. At sight of that the battle grew hotter. The hand of the Lord prevailed, and the forces of Maxentius were routed. He fled toward the broken bridge; but as the multitude pressed on him, he was driven headlong into the Tiber. This destructive war was thus ended, and with great rejoicings Constantine was acknowledged emperor by the senate and people of Rome.

VI. THE "EDICT OF MILAN"

When we, Constantine Augustus and Licinius Augustus, had happily met together at Milan, and were holding consideration of all things which concern the advantage and security of the state, we thought amongst other things which seemed likely to profit men generally, we ought in the very first place to set in order the conditions of the reverence paid to the Divinity, by giving to the Christians and all others full authority to follow whatever worship any man has chosen; whereby whatsoever Divinity dwells in Heaven may be benevolent and propitious to us, and to all who are placed under our authority. Therefore we thought it good with sound counsel and very right reason to lay down this law, that no man whatever should be refused any legal facility, who has given up his mind either to the observance of Christianity, or to the worship which he personally feels best suited to himself; to the end that the supreme Divinity, whose worship we freely follow, may continue in all things to grant us his wonted favor and goodwill. Wherefore your Devotion should know that it is our pleasure to abolish all conditions whatever which appeared in former charters directed to your office

Edict of
Licinius,
Emperor,
312 A.D.

Lactantius,
*The Manner
in which the
Persecutors
died*, xlviii.

It purports
to be a re-
issue of an
"Edict of
Milan."
But the
existence of
the latter has
been seri-
ously ques-
tioned; cf.
Seeck,
*Geschichte
des Unter-
gangs der
antiken Welt*,
i. 495.

*Ancient
World*,
515 and n. 1.

about the Christians, that every one of those who have a common wish to observe the Christian worship may now freely and unconditionally endeavor to observe the same without any annoyance or disquiet. These things we thought good to signify in the fullest manner to your Carefulness, that you might know that we have given freely and unreservedly to the said Christians authority to practise their worship. And when you perceive that we have made this grant to the said Christians, your Devotion understands that to others also freedom for their own worship and observance is likewise left open and freely granted, as befits the quiet of our times, that every man may have freedom in the practice of whatever worship he has chosen, for it is not our will that aught be diminished from the honor of any worship.

VII. THE NICENE CREED

“We believe in one God, Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father; only-begotten, that is, of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of Very God, begotten not made, being of one substance with the Father: by whom all things were made in heaven and on earth: Who for us men, and for our salvation, came down and was incarnate, and was made man; He suffered, and rose again the third day; He ascended into heaven, and is coming to judge both the quick and the dead. And (we believe) in the Holy Ghost. The Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes all who say there was a time when the Son of God was not; that before He was begotten He was not; that He was made out of the non-existent; or

Established
by the
Council of
Nicæa,
325 A.D.

*Letter of
Eusebius.*

*Ancient
World, 515.*

that He is of a different essence and of a different substance from the Father; and is susceptible of variation or change.

STUDIES

1. What blameworthy traits does Aurelius Victor find in Diocletian? What good qualities does he mention? Describe Maximian. How were the emperors and Cæsars distributed over the empire? Describe the administration. How does this view compare with that of Lactantius (Ch. XLIII. i)? Why did Diocletian resign?

2. What was the object of the Edict of Prices? What difficulties would naturally be encountered in enforcing it? How do the prices compare with those of to-day?

3. What was the character of Diocletian's persecution? What was the policy of Constantius with reference to it?

4. What led to the edict of Galerius? What are its terms? Did he believe in the existence of the Christians' God?

5. What seems to have been Constantine's motive in decorating the shields with the monogram of Christ? Did it contribute to the victory?

6. What are the terms of the "Edict of Milan"? Were they thereafter observed?

7. What are the main beliefs of the Nicene Creed? What doctrine is here condemned?

CHAPTER XLIII

SOME ASPECTS OF THE DECLINE

I. THE OPPRESSION OF DIOCLETIAN

WHILE Diocletian, that author of ill and deviser of misery, was ruining all things, he could not withhold his insults, not even against God. Partly by avarice and in part by timid counsels this man overturned the Roman empire. For he made a choice of three persons to share the government with him; and thus the empire was quartered, armies were multiplied, and each of the four princes strove to maintain a much more considerable military force than any sole emperor had done in times past. There began to be fewer men who paid taxes than there were who received wages; accordingly the means of the husbandmen were exhausted by enormous impositions; farms were abandoned; cultivated grounds became woodland, and universal dismay prevailed. Furthermore the provinces were divided into minute portions; and many governors and a multitude of inferior officers lay heavy on each territory and almost on every city. There were many stewards of different degrees and many deputies of the governors. Very few civil cases came before them, but there were condemnations daily, and forfeitures were frequently inflicted. There were taxes on numberless commodities, and those not only often repeated but perpetual, and in exacting them intolerable wrongs.

Whatever was imposed for the maintenance of the soldiery might have been endured; but through his insatiable

His ruinous policy.

Lactantius, The Manner in which the Persecutors died, vii.

Ancient World, 517 ff.

Oppressive taxes.

Cf. Ancient World, 508.

The hoarding
of wealth
in the im-
perial treas-
ury.

Edict of
prices.

Passion for
building.

Killing men
for their
estates.

avarice Diocletian would never allow the sums of money in his treasury to be diminished: he was constantly heaping together extraordinary aids and free gifts, that his original hoards might remain untouched and inviolable. When, too, by various extortions he had made all things exceedingly dear, he attempted by ordinance to limit their prices. Then much blood was shed for the veriest trifles; men were afraid to expose aught for sale, and the scarcity became more excessive and grievous than ever, until in the end the ordinance, proving destructive to multitudes, was from mere necessity abolished.

To this (oppression) was added a certain endless passion for building, and on that account arose endless exactions from the provinces for furnishing wages to laborers and artificers, and supplying wagons and whatever else was requisite to the works which he projected. Here public halls, there a circus, here a mint, and there a workhouse for making implements of war; in one place a habitation for his empress, and in another for his daughter. Presently a great part of the city was quitted, and all men were removed with their wives and children, as from a town taken by enemies; and when those buildings were completed, to the destruction of whole provinces, he said, "They are not right, let them be done on another plan." By such folly was he continually endeavoring to equal Nicomedia with the city of Rome in magnificence.

I omit mentioning how many perished on account of their possessions or wealth; for such evils were exceedingly frequent; and through their frequency they appeared almost lawful. But this was peculiar to him, that whenever he saw a field remarkably well cultivated, or a house of uncommon elegance, a false accusation and a capital punishment were straightway prepared against the pro-

prietor; hence it seemed as if Diocletian could not be guilty of rapine without also shedding blood.

II. THE OPPRESSION CONTINUES AFTER DIOCLETIAN

And now this wrong of which we are going to speak, how atrocious it is, from what impious disorder it is sprung, how strange to Barbarians, how familiar to Romans! The latter impose grievous exactions upon one another. What say I? Not on one another, for the thing would be supportable if each suffered what he inflicted. But the really crying evil is that the many are pillaged by the few, who regard the public privileges as their particular booty, who make private gain of the debts due the state treasury. And the guilty ones are not the great alone, but the small as well; not judges only, but their deputies. For where are, I do not say the cities merely, but the municipia and the villages, which have not as many tyrants as Curiales? But they congratulate themselves perhaps on this name of tyrant, because it seems powerful and honorable. This is the characteristic of nearly all robbers, to rejoice and boast if they get the reputation of being more inhuman than they really are. What then is the place, I would ask, or where are the leading citizens who do not devour the vitals of widows and of orphans and even of all the saints? For the latter are treated as widows and orphans, either because they do not wish to defend themselves, trusting in their faith, or because they are unable to do it, on account of their weakness and innocence. No one then is safe, except the great, no one is protected from these devastations and this universal brigandage, unless perhaps those who resemble the thieves themselves. Moreover the thing has come to such excess of wickedness that no one but the bad can hope to be secure.

The many are pillaged by the few.

Salvianus,
Providence of God, v. 4.

The Curiales were themselves oppressed, and in their turn oppressed those under their authority; *Ancient World*, 520.

The condition described in this selection belongs to the fifth century—the time of the writer.

III. THE DEPOPULATION OF EUBŒA

Condition
of a certain
city of Eu-
bœa, about
100 A.D.

Dio Chrys-
ostom,
Oration vii.
34 ff.

The speaker
is a leading
citizen of his
city.

A great part
of the empire
was falling
into a similar
condition.

About two thirds of our land lies waste for want of cultivators. I own many acres both in the mountains and in the plain. If any one will cultivate them, they may do it without cost; yes, I will gladly pay them money. It is clear that the land will thereby increase in value, and it will certainly be more pleasant to look upon. Waste land, besides being useless, arouses pity and makes the owner seem unfortunate. It appears to me advisable therefore that you persuade as many citizens as possible to occupy public lands of the city and to cultivate it—whoever has capital more, and the poor man as much as he can, that our land may come under the plow, and our city be freed from two of the greatest evils, idleness and poverty. Ten years they shall use the land without cost; then after an estimate is made, they shall pay a small quota of the grain but not of the cattle. If a foreigner shall occupy the land, he shall have it five years free, and then pay a rent double that of a citizen. And if a stranger shall occupy two hundred acres, he shall be given the citizenship as an encouragement to as many as possible to undertake such work. For now the land just outside the gates lies waste and unsightly as a desert, wholly unlike the neighborhood of a city, while inside the walls the larger part of the ground is sown or pastured. . . . They plant grain on the exercise ground and pasture their cattle in the market-place, so that Heracles and many other statues of the gods and heroes are hidden by the stalks; and every morning the sheep of a certain statesman intrudes upon the market-place and crops grass by the council chamber and the other public buildings; and strangers who come here either ridicule or pity our city.

IV. EDICT OF PERTINAX CONCERNING VACANT LANDS

In the first place he gave permission to occupy untilled and vacant lands throughout Italy and in the other countries of the empire, as much as any one wished and was able to cultivate, even if it belonged to the emperor, on condition that the one who should care for it and till it should become its owner. To such cultivators he granted exemption from all taxes for ten years and eventually unqualified ownership in perpetuity.

Lack of cultivators throughout the empire, 193 A.D.

Herodian ii. 4. 6.

V. TENDENCY TO FEUDALISM

Imperator Constantine Augustus and Cæsar Julianus to Eutychianus, Pretorian Prefect: "We hold that whoever shall try to offer protection to the farming folk, whatever his social rank, whether a commander of either branch of military service, or count (comes) or proconsul or vice-governor or Imperial prefect or tribune or of the rank of a municipal councillor or of any other rank whatsoever,—he shall know that he will make himself liable for the payment of forty pounds of gold for the protection furnished to each and every landed estate, unless he abandon this rashness hereafter. All therefore shall know that those should be smitten with the aforesaid fine, who have undertaken (to create) clientship of country folk, but those also, who for the sake of defrauding the public taxes have resorted to protections with the customary fraud, will be liable to the twofold payment of the established fine."

Imperial edict, forbidding the extension of protection to rural laborers, 399 A.D.

Theodosian Code, xxiv. 4.

Ancient World, 522.

VI. AN EXAMPLE OF THE MORAL CONDITION OF THE EMPIRE

Carthage
will serve
as an il-
lustration.

Salvianus,
*Providence of
God*, vii. 16.

I will content myself with speaking of this city, the queen and mother, as it were, of all the cities of Africa,—this city, the eternal rival of Rome, at first in arms, then in courage, and finally in splendor and dignity! Carthage, I say, the most formidable adversary of Rome, the Rome as it were of Africa, which will suffice as an example and as evidence, because she contains within herself everything by which a state is constituted and administered. There are all the means which prepare for the civil professions, there are the academies of liberal arts, there the schools of the philosophers, there the gymnasia of languages and manners. There too are military forces and the commanders of the soldiery, there the proconsular office, there a judge and permanent governor who rules with the title of proconsul but with the power of a consul. There are also all the official dignitaries who differ from one another in name and rank, for every ward, for every street, I may say,—procurators who govern every part and division of so great a people. I am content with this city as an example for judging the rest; and we may readily understand the character of the others, lacking as they do careful police regulations, whereas the governors of Carthage possess the utmost authority.

Immoral-
ities.

And here I almost repent of the promise I have just made, to pass by all other excesses of the Africans and to speak chiefly of their impurities and blasphemies. I see a city overflowing with vices, I see a city seething with every kind of wickedness, thronging with people, thronging still more with iniquities, full of riches, but fuller of sins, where men surpass one another in the vileness of

The state-
ment is
doubtless
excessive.

their evil passions, strong among themselves for supremacy in greed and impurity, others enfeebled with wine or distended with gluttony, others crowned with flowers or reeking with perfumes, all weakened by degrading forms of luxury, nearly all sunken in deadly errors, not all dizzy with wine, it is true, but everyone drunken in sin. You would say that the people had lost their sound condition, their senses, their mental sanity, and were moving along in crowds, not with certain step but in the manner of intoxicated Bacchantes. . . . I mention the proscription of orphans, the oppression of widows, the crosses of the poor who daily groan before God, praying for an end to their afflictions, and worst of all, forced by the unendurable bitterness of their lot, calling in the enemy, till finally God has granted them to endure along with the rest the affliction at the hands of the barbarians which formerly they alone had endured at the hands of the Romans.

STUDIES

1. Enumerate all the causes of decline mentioned in this selection. Does the writer seem to treat the case fairly?
2. In what particular ways, according to Salvianus, were the many pillaged by the few? Who especially were oppressed?
3. What was the condition of the part of Eubœa described in this selection? What is the value of the selection in the study of this period? What probably caused the depopulation?
4. How did Pertinax try to remedy the evil?
5. How did the rural laborers seek to avoid their taxes, and how did the government try to hold them to their duty?
6. Describe the prosperity of Carthage. What does Salvianus say of its immoralities? Was this condition a cause of decline?

CHAPTER XLIV

THE NORTHERN BARBARIANS

I. THE GERMANS: PEOPLE AND COUNTRY

Physique. THEY have fierce blue eyes, red hair, and large frames, capable only of sudden effort. They endure labor and service less patiently than we, and cannot support thirst and heat. But their climate and soil have accustomed them to cold and hunger.

Country. The country, although very varied in appearance, generally consists of rough forests or foul swamps. . . . Though fertile in crops, it bears no fruit trees; it is rich in herds but they are generally stunted. Even their cattle do not attain their natural beauty or the full growth of their horns. They take pleasure in the size of their herds; these are their sole form of wealth, and they are very proud of them. Whether it is in mercy or anger that the gods have denied them silver or gold I do not know; nor could I definitely assert that Germany produces no vein of gold or silver; for no one has explored. But they are not affected in the same way that we are by its possession and use. You may see there silver vases which have been given as presents to their ambassadors and chiefs; but they hold them as cheap as earthenware pots. However, the tribes nearest to us have learnt through familiarity with trade to value gold and silver; they can recognize and pick out certain pieces of our money. The people of the interior use the more simple and ancient method of barter. They like best the old coinage with

which they are familiar, with milled edges and with a two-horse chariot stamped on it. They also prefer silver to gold. This is not a matter of taste; but a number of small silver coins is more useful for men who buy only cheap and common articles.

These old coins contained less alloy than those of the writer's time.

Even iron is not plentiful, as one may gather from the nature of their weapons. Swords and long lances are rarely used; they carry spears, or, as they name them, "Frams" which have a short narrow head, but are so sharp and handy that they use the same weapon as circumstances demand for close and open fighting. The cavalry are content with shield and spear; the infantry also shower javelins; each man carried several, and they can throw them a very long way. They fight naked or in a light plaid. They have no elaborate apparel, and merely paint their shields with distinctive colors, of the brightest hue. Few wear cuirasses, hardly any helmets or caps. Their horses are distinguished neither for build nor for speed. . . .

Arms and warfare.

Tac. Germ. 6.

II. GOVERNMENT

Kings they choose by family, generals by merit. But the kings have not an unfettered power; and the generals lead less by authority than by force of example, according as they win praise for energy, conspicuous bravery and daring. Powers of execution or imprisonment and even of flogging are granted to none but the priests, nor are they exercised as a penalty or at the general's command, but at the bidding—so they imagine—of the tribal god whom they believe to be present in the ranks. Statues and certain symbols are taken down from the trees of the grove and carried into battle. The troops of horse and the wedge-battalions of infantry are formed not merely at haphazard but by families and clans. In this lies their

Kings, war-leaders, and priests.

Tac. Germ. 7.

Ancient World, 525.

Women.

chief incentive to bravery. Their dearest too are close at hand; the women's cries and the wailing of the babies reach their ears. It is their testimony that each man respects, their praise he values most. They carry their wounds to show to mother and to wife; nor are the women frightened to number and examine the blows; during battle they bring them food and encouragement.

Women in war.

Tac. *Germ.* 8.

There is a tradition that in some battles troops already wavering and beginning to run have been rallied by the women, who offer unceasing prayers, bare their breasts, and point out that captivity lies waiting close at hand. This the Germans fear far more anxiously for the women's sake than for their own, and the strongest hold upon the loyalty of these tribes is got by demanding as hostages girls of noble family. Indeed they believe that there is in women some divine spark of foreknowledge, and they do not despise their advice or neglect their answers. . . .

Council of chiefs and assembly of warriors.

Ib. 11.

On minor matters the chief men consult alone; on more important business they all meet. They provide, however, that all questions, the decision of which lies with the people, may be previously discussed by the chiefs. Their meetings are, except in case of chance emergencies, on fixed days, either at new moon or full moon; such seasons they believe to be the most auspicious for beginning business. They reckon the number, not of the days as we do, but of the nights. It is thus that they make their appointments and contracts. To them day seems to follow night. Their love of liberty makes them independent to a fault; they do not assemble all at once or as though they were under orders; but two or three days are wasted by their delay in arriving. They take their seats as they come, all in full armor. Silence is demanded by the priests, to whom are granted special powers of coercion. Next the

king, or one of the chief men according to claims of age, lineage, or military glory, receives a hearing, which he obtains more by power of persuasion than by any right of command. If the opinion expressed displeases, their murmurs reject it; if they approve, they clash their spears. Such applause is considered the most honorable form of assent.

At the meeting charges involving risk of capital punishment may be brought. The punishment fits the crime. They hang traitors and deserters on trees; cowards and cravens and evil-livers they plunge into a muddy swamp and put a hurdle on the top. These different penalties imply the distinction that crimes in being punished ought to be made public, while shameful offences ought to be concealed. They have also for lighter offences proportionate penalties; if convicted, they are fined a certain number of horses or cattle. Part of the fine is paid to the king or community, part to the injured man or his kinsmen. In these same meetings they choose chiefs who administer justice in the shires and villages. Each of these is accompanied by a hundred companions of the common people, who give him both advice and authority.

Punish-
ments.

Ib. 12.

III. "COMPANIONSHIP"

They do no business public or private except in arms. But their custom is that no one may carry arms until the community has approved his ability. Then before the whole assembly either one of the chief men or the father or some kinsman adorns the young warrior with shield and spear. This panoply is their "toga," youth's first honor. Before this he is a member of the household, now a member of the state. Distinguished lineage or great services done by ancestors sometimes win for mere boys

The youth
becomes a
man.

Tac. Germ.
13.

The chief gathers about him a number of followers, called companions, who fight under his leadership.

Ancient World, 525.

The companions vie with one another in valor.

Tac. Germ.
14.

the rank of a chief; but these take their places among the other tougher warriors whom time has tried, and do not blush to be seen in the ranks. Within the train itself too there are degrees of honor, determined at the leader's discretion. And great rivalry prevails—the companions each striving to be first with their chief, the chiefs to have the largest and most spirited companionship. Real distinction and strength belong to the chief who has around him always a band of chosen warriors, to be a glory in peace and a protection in war. To have a companionship distinguished for its size and bravery brings fame and glory not only among your own people, but among neighboring tribes as well. Such trains are courted by legates, and honored with gifts, and often decide the fortune of a battle by the mere rumor of their presence.

When the fighting begins, it is shameful for a chief to be outdone in bravery, and equally shameful for the companions not to match the bravery of their chief; to survive one's chief and to return from battle is a foul disgrace which lasts as long as life. To defend him, to support him, to turn one's brave deeds to his glory, this is their chief oath of allegiance. The chiefs fight for victory, the companions for their chief. Often youths of noble family, if the community in which they were born is suffering the torpor of prolonged peace, go and seek out some tribe which happens to be at war. They hate peace; and fame too comes more easily in times of danger. Nor can you support a large companionship save by war and violence; for they exact from their chief's liberality their charter and their murderous invincible spear. Feasts, too, rough though plentiful, are given for pay. The means of this liberality is won by war and plunder. It would be far harder to persuade them to plow the fields and wait for

the year's yield than to challenge the enemy and earn a wage of wounds. Indeed, they think it dull and lazy to get by the sweat of your own brow what may be won by shedding some one else's blood.

IV. IN TIME OF PEACE

When they are not fighting, they spend little time in hunting, much more in doing nothing. They devote themselves to sleeping and eating. Even the bravest and most warlike are quite idle, for they give over the care of house and fields to the women and the old men, and to all the weaklings of the household. They themselves merely lounge, for from a strange contradiction of character they love idleness yet hate peace. It is usual for the tribe, man by man, to contribute a voluntary gift of cattle or corn for the chiefs. They accept this as an honor, and it meets their needs. They take particular pleasure in gifts from other tribes. These are sent not only by individuals, but often by the community, and consist of picked horses, massive armor, bosses and collars. In these days we have also taught them to take money.

Idleness.

Tac. Germ.
15.

It is well known that none of the German tribes live in cities. They cannot endure undetached houses. Their homes are separate and scattered, pitched at the call of river, plain or wood. They build villages, but not as we do with the buildings all adjoining and connected. Each man has an open space around his homestead, either as a protection against risk of fire, or because they do not know how to build otherwise. They make no use even of quarry stones or tiles. For all purposes they use timber roughly hewn with no attempt at beauty or comfort. Some parts they carefully smear with earth so pure and bright that it gives the effect of painting and colored de-

Villages and isolated homes.

Ib. 16.

signs. They often dig caverns under the earth and load heaps of mud above them; these make a refuge for them in winter and a storehouse for fruits. In such places as these they temper the extreme cold; and if an enemy comes he carries off what he finds in the open, while he knows nothing of all that is hidden and buried; or else it escapes just because there is no time to search for it.

Clothing.

Ib. 17.

They all wear for covering a plaid fastened with a brooch, or, in default of that, a thorn. Without any other clothing they spend whole days lying on the hearth before the fire. The wealthy are distinguished by a garment, which does not flow loose, as with the Sarmatians and Parthians, but fits close and shows the shape of each limb. They also use the skins of wild beasts. Those nearest the Rhine look comfortable in them, but the people of the interior wear them with elaborate care, since they are not yet civilized by commerce. They choose their animal, skin it, and star the hide with the speckled fur of the beasts found in the further ocean and the unknown sea. The women have the same clothing as the men, except that they more frequently wear linen garments, which they ornament with purple stripes. The bodice has no sleeves, and they leave the arms and forearms uncovered. . . . Their observance of the marriage-tie is very strict, and there is no point in their manners which deserves greater praise. Almost alone among barbarians they are content with one wife, with the exception of a very few. . . .

V. FAMILY AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

Marriage.

Tac. Germ.
18.

The husband brings a dowry to the wife, not the wife to the husband. The parents come to the wedding and inspect the presents. These are not designed to please a woman's taste, nor can a young bride wear them in her

hair: they are oxen, and a bridled horse or a shield with spear and sword. This is the dowry which wins a wife, and she in her turn brings the husband some gift of arms. This represents to them our marriage bond, the mystic celebrations, and all the gods of matrimony. A woman must not think herself exempt from thoughts of bravery or the chances of war. By the ceremony which begins her wedded life she is warned that she comes to be her husband's partner in toil and in danger, to suffer and to dare with him alike in peace and war. This is plainly shown by the yoked oxen, the bridled horse, and the gift of arms. Thus she must live, and thus she must die. She is receiving a trust which she must keep worthily and hand on to her children, a trust which her sons' wives may receive in turn and pass on to their children. . . .

The family are bound to share the feuds as well as the friendships of father or kinsman. But these feuds are not irreconcilable. Even homicide has its price in a fixed tale of cattle or sheep; the whole family receives the recompense. This is a good policy for the community, since feuds and freedom are dangerous side by side. In entertainment and hospitality no people are more profuse or generous. It is thought wrong to refuse shelter to any living man. Each according to his means receives his guests with a liberal spread. When his store fails, the former host sets out with his guest and guides him to another lodging. They proceed to the next house without any invitation. Nor does this make any difference; their welcome is no less warm. As far as the right of hospitality is concerned, no one makes any distinction between friend and stranger. On a guest's departure, should he ask for anything, their custom is to grant it; and the guest on his part feels just as free to ask. They like presents, but do

Blood feud.

Tac. Germ.
21.

not reckon them as a favor, nor feel under any obligation in accepting them.

**Food and
drink.**

Ib. 22.

Immediately they rise from sleep, which they frequently prolong into the day, they take a bath, usually of warm water, as is natural where winter takes the lion's share of the year. After the bath they take a meal. They have separate seats and each his own table. Then they proceed to business and often to feasts in full armor. No one is ashamed to drink from dawn to dawn. As is natural among drunkards, quarrels are frequent, and their brawls are rarely settled without wounds and bloodshed. But they also frequently consult at their feasts about the reconciliations of feuds, the forming of family connections, and the adoption of chiefs, and also upon peace and war. At no other time, they feel, is the heart so open to frank thoughts or so well warmed to great ones. Being as a race without much cunning or experience, they still open the secrets of their hearts in the freedom of jest. Thus the mind of each is laid bare. On the morrow they discuss the question again, thus preserving the advantages of either state. They debate, while incapable of deceit, and decide when they cannot be misled.

**Intemper-
ance.**

Tac. Germ.
23.

Their drink is a liquid made from barley or wheat fermented into a faint resemblance of wine. Their food is simple, wild fruits, fresh game, or curdled milk. They simply satisfy their hunger without any refinement or preparation. In drinking they are less temperate. If you pander to their intemperance by supplying as much as they want, their vices will conquer them as effectively as any troops.

**Public
shows;
gambling.**

Ib. 24.

They have but one kind of public show; in every gathering it is just the same. Naked youths who profess this sport, fling themselves in dance among swords and levelled

lances. Practice has perfected their skill and skill their grace; yet they do it not to make money or a living. Daring as the game is, its sole reward is the spectator's pleasure. Gambling with dice, it is strange to find, they reckon as a serious occupation. They play while sober, and show such recklessness in winning and losing that when all else fails, on the last throw of all they stake their liberty and person. The loser goes into voluntary slavery. Though he may be the younger and stronger, he suffers himself to be bound and sold. This shows their wrong-headed obstinacy; they call it themselves a sense of honor. Slaves thus obtained they usually sell in the market, to rid themselves of the shame of such a victory.

Their ordinary slaves are not employed, as ours are, on distinct duties in the establishment. Each has his own hearth and home. The master fixes a certain measure of grain or number of cattle to be paid as a sort of rent; this forms the only obligation. All the household obligations are performed by the master's wife and children. Slaves are very rarely beaten or condemned to imprisonment or taskwork. They are sometimes killed by their masters, not, however, as a severe act of discipline, but simply in a fit of passion, just as one might kill a private enemy, except that it is legal to kill a slave. The position of freedmen is not much higher than that of slaves. In the household they rarely have any influence, in the state never, except in those tribes which are ruled by kings. There they rise even above the free-born and above the nobles. In the other tribes the inferiority of freedmen is a proof of freedom.

The lending of money and its multiplication by interest is unknown to them. Ignorance proves a better preventive than prohibition. The fields are held by village-

Slaves.

Ib. 25.

Economy.

Tac. Germ.
26.

communities in proportion to their numbers, and are allotted to individuals according to rank. The extent of the land makes the division easy. They never till the same field two years in succession, yet there is always land to spare. They do not labor to improve the richness or extent of the soil by planting orchards enclosing meadows and irrigating gardens; their sole demand upon the land is corn. Thus they do not divide the year into as many seasons as we do. They distinguish winter, spring and summer, and give them names; but they know neither the name nor the blessings of autumn.

Funerals.

Ib. 27.

The funerals are not ostentatious. The only custom they observe is that of using certain kinds of wood for the cremation of famous men. They do not load the pyre with garments or perfumes. The dead man's armor goes into the flames and in some cases his horse as well. The tomb is built of turf. They dislike a tall and elaborate monument; it seems an honor that weighs heavy on the dead. They soon cease from tears and mourning, but are slow to forget their grief. "Women must weep" they say "and men remember."

VI. THE HUNS

Physique.

Ammianus
Marcellinus
xxi. 3.

They are certainly in the shape of men, however uncouth, but are so hardy that they require neither fire nor well-flavored food, but live on the roots of such herbs as they get in the fields, or on the half-raw flesh of any animal, which they merely warm rapidly by placing it between their own thighs and the backs of their horses.

Out-of-door life.

Ib. 4.

*Ancient
World*, 533 f.

They never shelter themselves under roofed houses, but avoid them as people ordinarily avoid sepulchres as things not fitted for common use. Nor is there even to be found among them a cabin thatched with reed; but they

wander about roaming over the mountains and the woods, and accustom themselves to bear frost and hunger and thirst from their very cradles. And even when abroad they never enter a house unless under the compulsion of some extreme necessity; nor indeed do they think people under roofs as safe as others.

They wear linen clothes, or else garments made of the skins of field-mice; nor do they wear a different dress out of doors from that which they wear at home; but after a tunic is once put around their necks, however worn it becomes, it is never taken off or changed till, from long decay, it becomes actually so ragged as to fall to pieces.

Clothing.

Amm. Marc.
xxi. 5.

They cover their heads with round caps, and their shaggy legs with the skins of kids; their shoes are not made on any lasts, but are so unshapely as to hinder them from walking with a free gait. And for this reason they are not well-suited to infantry battles, but are nearly always on horseback, their horses being ill-shaped but hardy; and sometimes they even sit upon them like women if they want to do anything more conveniently. There is not a person in the whole nation who cannot remain on his horse day and night. On horseback they buy and sell, they take their meat and drink, and there they recline on the narrow neck of their steed, and yield to sleep so deep as to indulge in every variety of dream.

Ib. 6.

And when any deliberation is to take place on any weighty matter, they all hold their common council on horseback. They are not under the authority of a king, but are contented with the irregular government of their nobles, and under their lead they force their way through all obstacles.

Council.

Ib. 7.

Sometimes when provoked, they fight; and when they go into battle, they form in a solid body, and utter all kinds

Warfare.

Ib. 8.

of terrific yells. They are very quick in their operations, of exceeding speed, and fond of surprising their enemies. With a view to this, they suddenly disperse, then reunite, and again, after having inflicted vast loss upon the enemy, they scatter themselves over the whole plain in irregular formations; always avoiding a fort or an intrenchment.

Ib. 9.

And in one respect you may pronounce them the most formidable of all warriors, for, when at a distance, they use missiles of various kinds tipped with sharpened bones instead of the usual points of javelins, and these bones are admirably fastened into the shaft of the javelin or arrow; but when they are at close quarters they fight with the sword, without any regard for their own safety; and often while their antagonists are warding off their blows they entangle them with twisted cords, so that, their hands being fettered, they lose all power of either riding or walking.

Perpetual
nomads.

Ib. 10.

None of them plow, or even touch a plow-handle; for they have no settled abode, but are homeless and lawless, perpetually wandering with their wagons, which they make their homes; in fact they seem to be people always in flight. Their wives live in these wagons, and there weave their miserable garments. . . .

Inconstant
and unre-
liable.

Amm. Marc.
xxx. 11.

In truces they are treacherous and inconstant, liable to change their minds at every breeze of every fresh hope which presents itself, giving themselves up wholly to the impulse and inclination of the moment; and like brute beasts, they are utterly ignorant of the distinction between right and wrong. They express themselves with great ambiguity and obscurity; have no respect for any religion or superstition whatever; are immoderately covetous of gold; and are so fickle and irascible, that they very often on the same day that they quarrel with their companions

without any provocation, again become reconciled to them without any mediator.

STUDIES

1. Describe Germany. What were its products?
2. Describe the government. What were the qualifications for leadership? What function had the priests? What was the idea of punishment? What was the German method of fighting? What part in warfare did women take? Who composed the council? What business came before it? Describe the public meetings of the warriors.
3. Explain "companionship." What part had it in war?
4. How did the warriors live in time of peace? Where were their homes situated? Describe their clothing.
5. Describe their marriage customs. Explain the blood feud. How did they treat guests? What was their custom of eating at meals and feasts? To what vices were they addicted? What was the condition of their slaves? What were all the sources of their subsistence? In what way were their funerals peculiar?
6. Describe the physique of the Huns. What was their opinion of houses? What did they wear? What use did they make of horses? What government had they? Describe their warfare. Compare them with the Germans. Who wrote these selections, and how did each obtain his information?

CHAPTER XLV

ROMAN LIFE UNDER THE LATE EMPIRE

MAINLY FOURTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES A.D.

I. PRINCIPIA AND MARCELLA IN THE SACK OF ROME BY THE GOTHs

The experiences of two Christian women.

St. Jerome, *Letter cxxvii* (written 412 A.D.).

The first siege mentioned was by Alaric in 408; the second siege, ending in the capture of Rome, was in 410; *Ancient World*, 529 f.

Principia was a young lady in the house and under the protection of Marcella, an old lady. The latter soon died from the effects of her injuries.

ROME had been besieged and its citizens had been forced to buy their lives with gold. Then, thus despoiled, they had been besieged again so as to lose not their substance only but their lives. My voice sticks in my throat; and as I dictate, sobs choke my utterance. The City which had taken the whole world was itself taken; nay more, famine was beforehand with the sword and but few citizens were left to be made captives. In their frenzy the starving people had recourse to hideous food; and tore each other limb from limb that they might have flesh to eat. Even the mother did not spare the babe at her breast. . . .

Meantime as was natural in a scene of such confusion, one of the blood-stained victors found his way into Marcella's house. Now be it mine to say what I have heard, to relate what holy men have seen; for there were some such present, and they say you (Principia) too were with her in the hour of danger. When the soldiers entered, she is said to have received them without any look of alarm; and when they asked her for gold, she pointed to her coarse dress to show them she had no buried treasure. They would not believe in her self-chosen poverty, however,

but scourged and beat her with cudgels. She is said to have felt no pain, but to have thrown herself at their feet and to have pleaded with tears for you, that you might not be taken from her. . . . Christ softened their hard hearts and even among blood-stained swords natural affection asserted its rights. The barbarians conveyed both you and her to the basilica of the Apostle Paul, that you might find there either a place of safety or if not that, at least a tomb. Hereupon Marcella is said to have burst into great joy and to have thanked God for having kept you unharmed in answer to her prayer. She said she was thankful too that the taking of the City had found her poor, not made her so, that she was now in want of her daily bread, that Christ satisfied her needs so that she no longer felt hungry, that she was able to say in word and in deed. . . . "The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord." Job i. 21.

II. BY FIRE AND SWORD

I shudder when I think of the catastrophies of our time. For twenty years and more the blood of Romans has been shed daily between Constantinople and the Julian Alps. Scythia, Thrace, Macedonia, Dardania, Dacia, Thessaly, Achaia, Epirus, Dalmatia, the Pannonias—each and all of these provinces have been sacked and pillaged and plundered by Goths and Sarmatians, Quades and Alans, Huns and Vandals and Marcomanni. How many of God's matrons and maidens, virtuous and noble ladies, have been made the sport of these brutes! Bishops have been made captive, priests and those in minor orders have been put to death. Churches have been overthrown, horses have been stalled by the altars of Christ, and relics of the martyrs have been dug up.

Calamities wrought by the invaders.

St. Jerome, *Letter lx* (to Heliodorus; 396 A.D.).

Vergil,
Æneid, ii.
369.

Mourning and fear abound on every side
And death appears in countless shapes and forms.

The empire
is falling.

The Roman world is falling; yet we hold up our heads instead of bowing them. . . . The East, it is true, seemed to be safe from all such evils; and if men were panic-stricken here, it was only because of bad news from other parts. But lo! in the year just gone by the wolves (no longer of Arabia but of the whole North) were let loose upon us from the remotest fastnesses of Caucasus and in a short time overran these great provinces. What a number of monasteries they captured! How many rivers they caused to run red with blood! They laid siege to Antioch and invested other cities on the Halys, the Cydnus, the Orontes, and the Euphrates. They carried off troops of captives. Arabia, Phœnicia, Palestine, and Egypt, in their terror fancied themselves enslaved.

Invasion of
the Huns
(here called
wolves).

Vergil,
Æneid, vi.
625-7.

Had I a hundred tongues, a hundred lips,
A throat of iron and a chest of brass,
I could not tell men's countless sufferings.

And indeed it is not my purpose to write a history; I only wish to shed a few tears over your sorrows and mine.

III. ADVICE TO A YOUNG MONK

His mother's
care.

St. Jerome,
Letter cxxv
(to Rusticus;
411 A.D.).

I am told that your mother is a religious woman, a widow of many years standing; and that when you were a child she reared and taught you herself. Afterward when you had spent some time in the flourishing schools of Gaul, she sent you to Rome, sparing no expense and consoling herself for your absence with the thought of the future that lay before you. She hoped to see the exuberance and glitter of your Gallic eloquence toned down by Roman sobriety, for she saw that you required the rein more than the spur. . . .

If on your part you desire to be a monk and not merely to seem one, be more careful of your soul than of your property; for in adopting a religious profession you have renounced this once for all. Let your garments be squalid to show that your mind is white, and your tunic coarse to prove that you despise the world. But give not way to pride lest your dress and language be found at variance. Baths stimulate the senses and must therefore be avoided; for to quench natural heat is the aim of chilling fasts. . . . A frugal and temperate diet is good for both body and soul.

Disdain material things.

See your mother as often as you wish but not with other women, for their faces may dwell in your thoughts and so—"a secret wound may fester in your breast." The maidservants who attend upon her you must regard as so many snares laid to entrap you. . . .

Avoid the society of women.

If I wish you then not to live with your mother, it is for the reasons above given, and most of all for the following: If she offers you delicacies to eat, you will grieve her by refusing them; and if you take them, you will add fuel to the flame that already burns within you. . . . Never take your hand or your eyes off your book; learn the psalms word for word, pray without ceasing, be always on the alert, and let no vain thoughts lay hold upon you. Direct both body and mind to the Lord, overcome wrath with patience, love the knowledge of the scripture, and you will no longer love the sins of the flesh. Do not let your mind become a prey to excitement, for if this effects a lodgment in your breast, it will have dominion over you and will lead you into the great transgression. Always have some work on hand, that the Devil may find you busy. . . .

Keep your mind occupied with learning and religion.

Make creels of reeds or weave baskets of pliant osier. Hoe your ground; mark out your garden into even plots;

Do the following kinds of manual labor.

and when you have sown your cabbages or set your plants, convey water to them in conduits; that you may see with your own eyes the lovely vision of the poet:

Vergil,
Georgics, i.
108-10.

Art draws fresh water from the hilltop near,
Till the stream, plashing down among the rocks,
Cools the parched meadows and allays their thirst.

Proverbs xiii.
4.

Graft unfruitful stocks with buds and slips that you may shortly be rewarded for your toil by plucking sweet apples from them. Build also hives for bees, for to these creatures the proverbs of Solomon send you, and you may learn from the tiny creatures how to order a monastery and to discipline a kingdom. Twist lines too for catching fish, and copy books, that your hand may earn your food and your mind be ever satisfied with reading. For "every-one that is idle is a prey to vain desires." In Egypt the monasteries make it a rule to receive none who are not willing to work; for they regard labor as necessary not only for the support of the body but also for the salvation of the soul.

IV. FROM THE RULE OF ST. BENEDICT

On the duty of labor.

The editors gratefully acknowledge the use of Ogg, *Source Book*, 88 f., for this selection.

Ancient World, 547 f.

Idleness is the enemy of the soul. And, therefore, at fixed times the brothers ought to be occupied in manual labor; and again at fixed times in sacred reading. Therefore we believe that both seasons ought to be arranged after this manner,—so that, from Easter until the first of October, going out early from the first until the fourth hour they shall do what labor may be necessary. From the fourth hour until about the sixth, they shall be free for reading. After the meal of the sixth hour, rising from the table, they shall rest in their beds with all silence; or perchance he that wishes to read may read to himself in

such a way as not to disturb another. And the nona (the second meal) shall be gone through with more moderately about the middle of the eighth hour; and again, they shall work at what is to be done until Vespers. But if the emergency or poverty of the place demands that they be occupied in picking fruits, they shall not be grieved; for they are truly monks if they live by the labors of their hands, as did also our fathers and the apostles. Let all things be done with moderation, however, on account of the faint-hearted.

In days of Lent they shall all receive separate books from the library, which they shall read entirely through in order. These books are to be given out on the first day of Lent. Above all there shall be appointed without fail one or two elders, who shall go round the monastery at the hours in which the brothers are engaged in reading, and see to it that no troublesome brother be found who is given to idleness and trifling, and is not intent on his reading, being not only of no use to himself, but also stirring up others. If such a one (may it not happen) be found, he shall be reproved once and a second time. If he do not amend, he shall be subject under the rule to such punishment that the others may have fear. Nor shall brother join brother at unsuitable hours. Moreover, on Sunday all shall engage in reading, excepting those who are assigned to various duties. But if any one be so negligent and lazy that he will not or can not read, some task shall be imposed upon him which he can do, so that he be not idle. On feeble and delicate brothers such a task or art is to be imposed, that they shall neither be idle nor so oppressed by the violence of labor as to be driven to take flight. Their weakness is to be taken into consideration by the abbot.

Regulations
as to read-
ing.

V. THE TRAINING OF A NUN

Advice to a
father
concerning
an infant
daughter.

St. Jerome,
Letter cxxviii.

A girl should associate only with girls, she should know nothing of boys and should dread even playing with them. . . . Her mother's nod should be to her as much a command as a spoken injunction. She should love her as a parent, obey her as a mistress, and reverence her as her teacher. . . . She should until she is grown up commit to memory the psalter and the books of Solomon; the gospels, the apostles, and the prophets should be the treasure of her heart. She should not appear in public too freely or too frequently attend crowded churches. All her pleasure should be in her chamber. She must never look at young men or turn her eyes upon curled fops; and the wanton songs of sweet-voiced girls, which wound the soul through the ears, must be kept from her. The more freedom of access such persons possess, the harder it is to avoid them when they come; and what they have once learned themselves they will secretly teach her and will thus contaminate our secluded Danæ by the talk of the crowd. Give her for guardian and companion a mistress and governess, one not addicted to much wine or in the Apostle's word idle and a tattler, but sober, grave, industrious in spinning wool, and one whose words will form her childish mind to the practice of virtue. . . .

Letter cvii.

Let her not converse with people of the world. . . . Let her not be present at the weddings of your slaves and let her take no part in the noisy games of the household. . . . By vigils and fasts she mortifies her body and brings it into subjection. . . . And by a deliberate squalor she makes haste to spoil her natural good looks.

In the
monastery.
Letter cxlvii.

It is usual in the monasteries of Egypt and Syria for maidens and widows who have vowed themselves to God

and have renounced the world and have trodden its pleasures under foot, to ask the mothers of their communities to cut their hair; not that afterward they go about with heads uncovered in defiance of the Apostle's command, for they wear a close-fitting cap and veil. No one knows of this in any single case except the shearers and the shorn; but as the practice is universal, it is almost universally known. The custom has in fact become a second nature.

VI. A MUCH MARRIED COUPLE

The story I am about to relate is incredible; yet it is vouched for by many witnesses. Many years ago when I was helping Damasus, bishop of Rome, with his ecclesiastical correspondence, and writing his answers to the questions referred to him by the Councils of the East and West, I saw a married couple, both of whom were sprung from the very dregs of the people. The man had already buried twenty wives and the woman had had twenty-two husbands. Now they were united to each other, as each believed, for the last time. The greatest curiosity prevailed among both men and women to see which of these two veterans would live to bury the other. The husband triumphed and walked before the bier of his oft-married wife, amid a great concourse of people from all quarters, with garland and palm-branch, scattering spelt as he went along among an approving crowd.

Twenty-first wife and twenty-third husband.

St. Jerome, *Letter cxxiii.*

St. Jerome strongly condemns second marriages.

VII. THE PAGAN GODS ARE IMMORAL

Hence it proceedeth that those gods never had care of the lives and manners of such cities and nations as gave them divine honors; but contrarywise gave free permission to such horrible and abominable evils, to enter, not upon their lands, vines, houses, or treasures, no nor upon the

They are guilty of every kind of abomination.

St. Augustine,
City of God,
ii. 6.

*Ancient
World*, 530.

body (which serves the mind) but upon the mind itself, the ruler of all the flesh, and of all the rest; this they ever allowed without any prohibition at all. . . . I know their followers will talk of certain secret traditions and, I know not what; some closely muttered instructions, tending to the bettering of man's life; but let them show wherever they had any public places ordained to hear such lectures (wherein the players did not present their filthy gestures and speeches: nor where the Fugalia were kept with all licentiousness, fitly called Fugalia, as the chasers away of all chastity and honesty); but where the people might come and hear their gods' doctrine concerning the restraint of covetousness, the suppression of ambition, and the bridling of luxury and riot. . . . Let them show where these lessons of their instructing gods were ever read or rehearsed; whether ever their worshippers were used to hear of any such matters, as we used to do continually in our churches, erected for this purpose in all places wheresoever the religion of Christ is diffused.

VIII. ANGELS

Their
interest in
humanity.

St. August-
tine, *City of
God*, ix. 7.

Worthily are those blessed immortals placed in those celestial habitations, rejoicing in the participation of their Creator, being firm, certain, and holy by His eternity, truth, and bounty; because they love us mortal wretches with a zealous pity and desire to have us immortally blessed also, and will not have us sacrifice to them, but to Him to whom they know both us and themselves to be sacrifices. For we both are inhabitants of that in the Psalm: "Glorious things are spoken of thee, thou City of God:" part whereof is pilgrim yet with us and part assists us with them. From that eternal city where God's unchanging will is all their

law: and from that supernal court (for there we are cared for) by the ministry of the holy angels was that Holy Scripture brought down unto us, which says, "He that sacrifices to any but God alone, shall be rooted out." This scripture, this precept is confirmed unto us by so many miracles, that it is plain enough, to whom the blessed immortals, so loving us, and wishing as themselves, would have us to offer sacrifice.

IX. MIRACLES

But all miracles (done by angels or whatever divine power), confirming the true adoration of one God unto us (in whom only we are blessed), we believe truly are done by God's power working in these immortals that love us in true piety. Hear not those that deny that the invisible God works visible miracles: is not the world a miracle? Yet visible, and of His making. Nay, all the miracles done in this world are less than the world itself, the heaven and the earth and all therein, yet God made them all, and after a manner that man cannot conceive nor comprehend. For though these visible miracles of nature be now no more admired, yet ponder them wisely, and they are more admirable than the strangest: for man is a greater miracle than all that he can work. Wherefore God that made heaven and earth (both miracles) scorns not as yet to work miracles in heaven and earth, to draw men's souls that yet affect visibilities, unto the worship of His invisible essence. But where and when He will do this, His unchangeable will can only declare; at whose disposing all time past has been, and future time is. He moves all things in time, but time moves not Him, nor knows the future effects otherwise than present. Nor

Not to be doubted.

St. Augustine, *City of God*, ix. 12.

hears he our prayers otherwise than He forsees them ere we pray; for when His angels hear them, He hears in them.

X. A CASE OF GRAVE ROBBERY

Criminal charge before the governor of Egypt.

The trial about 400 A.D.

A *papyrus*.

Interesting for the religious belief of the age.

You have dug up the body of the dead which the city, pursuant to a decree of the people, has buried and mourned. You seem to me to have the heart of a beast, not of a man—and really not even of a beast. For beasts assail indeed living men but spare the dead. You however have plotted against a corpse which has separated itself from the race of men. Whence got you the effrontery to rob of his last hopes the person laid to rest? Truly, by Zeus, these were the last adornments allowed by the laws: they were the gifts of the state to the dead body; they were offerings of purification (which you have stolen). You will atone for this deed with your head.

XI. EDICT OF THEODOSIUS AGAINST HERETICS

Heresies forbidden.

Theodosian Code xvi. 5, 5.

379 A.D.

Let all heresies forbidden both by divine and imperial laws forthwith cease. Whatsoever profane person lowers, by acts worthy of punishment, the opinion of God, let him entertain ideas destined to be hurtful to himself alone, let him not publish what will be a hindrance to others. Whoever causes wasting disease to bodies, redeemed by venerable baptism, . . . let him not ruin others by wicked instruction. And all teachers and ministers of that perverse superstition,—whether by assuming sacred office they defile the name of bishop or falsify religion with the title of presbyter, or call themselves deacons when they are not even held to be Christians,—let them abstain from meetings devoted to an opinion long ago condemned. Finally let the Rescript recently published at Sirmium

be cancelled and let those things only abide with Universal (Catholic) observance, which our ever memorable father and we ourselves have ordered as destined to live forever with equally specific command.

Rescript was a letter by the emperor and now a frequent form of legislation.

XII. MISERIES OF THE SCHOOLBOY

O God, my God, what miseries I suffered there, and how I was made a subject of mockery, seeing that the end set before my boyhood was to obey my teachers that I might prosper in the world, by learning to excel in those wordy arts which lead to honor among men, and serve to gain those riches which are not true wealth. To that end I was put to school that I might learn my letters, in which I, poor wretch, could see no manner of use. But if I was slow in learning them I was whipped. For this was the way approved by our ancestors. For many, going through this life before us, had built up the toilsome ways through which we were compelled to pass with the labor and pain which have been multiplied upon the sons of Adam. Meanwhile I came in contact with some who prayed to Thee, and I learned something from them, and thought of Thee as best I could, as some great One, who though we could not see or touch Thee, couldst hear and help us. As a boy accordingly I began to pray to Thee, who art my refuge and my help. I taught my stammering tongue to cry to Thee, and besought Thee, small as I was, with no little earnestness that I might not be whipped at school. And when Thou didst not answer my prayer—though it was not Thy purpose to put me to confusion—my whippings were matter for mirth to my seniors, even to my parents, who certainly wished no ill to befall me, though these punishments were a great and grave ill to me. . . .

The recollection is painful.

St. Augustine, *Confessions*, i. 9, 14.

Learning
under
compulsion.

Ib. i. 12, 19.

In my boyhood, for which my mother had less fear than for my youth, I loved not my lessons, and I loved not to be made learn them. But I was made learn them, and that was good; yet was I not doing good in learning them; for I would not have learned them had I not been driven to it, and no one is doing good whose will is not in what he does, even though the thing he does is good. Nor were they who made me learn doing good, but Thou, O God; wast doing good to me through them. . . .

XIII. CONVERTED TO PHILOSOPHY

Through
the reading
of Cicero.

St. Augustine,
Confessions,
i. 4, 7 f.

The *Horten-
sius* has not
been pre-
served.

I was studying books which taught eloquence, in which I desired to excel, seeking by means of the satisfaction of human vanity an end that was itself evil and vain, when in the usual course of reading I came to a book of one Cicero, whose eloquence, though not his character, is almost universally admired. This book of his is called the *Hortensius*, and contains an exhortation to the study of philosophy. That book changed my whole attitude, changed the prayers which I offered to Thee, and made all my desires and aspirations different from what they had been. All at once every hope that was set on vanity seemed worthless, and I desired with an incredible intensity of emotion the immortality with which philosophy is concerned, and I began to rise up that I might return unto thee. For it was not to the polishing of my speech that I used it, which was what I was ostensibly buying with the funds provided by my mother—for my father had died two years before and I was now in my nineteenth year. It was not to the polishing of my speech that I used it, and what impressed me was not the style but the subject-matter.

How I burned, O my God, how I burned to flee from

things earthly unto Thee, and I knew not Thou wast dealing with me. For with Thee is wisdom; and the love of wisdom has in Greek the name "philosophy"—to the pursuit of which that work inflamed me. . . .

XIV. THE SORROWS OF A SCHOOLMASTER

I decided to depart to Rome and to teach there rather than in Carthage. And how I was brought to this decision I will not omit to confess unto Thee, seeing that even in such things Thy deep ways with us and Thy most present mercy toward us are to be meditated and declared to others. My reason for wishing to go to Rome was not that I was promised, by my friends who urged this course on me, larger gains and greater dignity, though doubtless these things also weighed with me in the state of my mind at the time. The chief and almost the sole cause was that I had heard that the students there were less turbulent, and were restrained by a stricter discipline, and were not permitted to break in rudely, at their pleasure, into the class room of a teacher whose lectures they were not attending; and indeed were not admitted at all unless he chose. In Carthage, on the other hand, the students enjoy an excessive and disgraceful licence. They break in rudely and disturb almost violently the order which a teacher has established for the advantage of his pupils. And they inflict much injury upon others with an amazing recklessness, which deserves to be punished by law, were it not sanctioned by custom. They are indeed the more miserable in that they do by a kind of licence that which Thy laws will never legitimate, and they think they are doing it with impunity, when the very blindness with which they do it is itself punishment. So I was obliged as a teacher to suffer from others the kind of conduct I

The students of Carthage are turbulent.

St. Augustine, *Confessions*, v. 8, 14.

had avoided as a student, and therefore it was that I wished to go where those who knew told me that such things were not done. . . .

Those of
Rome are
dishonest
rogues.

Ib. v. 12, 22.

I had however eagerly begun to do that for which I had come hither, namely to teach in Rome the rhetorical art, and as a beginning I gathered in my own house a few pupils to whom and through whom I was beginning to get known. When lo, I found that things were done in Rome which I had not suffered in Africa! It is true, the violent disturbances there caused by the wild set were not here customary; but "all at once," I was told, "in order to avoid paying their fees, a number of youths agree to transfer themselves to another teacher, traitors to their pledge, holding money dear and justice cheap." These I hated in truth from my heart, but not with a "perfect hatred" for I hated more the loss I was to suffer from them than the fact of their doing these iniquities to any one at all. . . .

STUDIES

1. What was the condition of Rome described in this selection? Tell the story of Principia and Marcella.

2. How did the invading barbarians treat the country and the people? What parts of the empire suffered most?

3. How did this young monk get his education? What course of life does St. Jerome recommend to him? What should be his studies? In what manual labor should he engage?

4. What labors does the rule of St. Benedict prescribe? What attention should be given to study?

5. What training should a girl receive who was to enter a convent? What should she study?

6. What was St. Jerome's opinion of second marriages? What strange case does he comment on?

7. In St. Augustine's opinion did the gods of Rome help or hinder morality?

8. What part did he think the angels take in human affairs?

9. What view of miracles does he hold?
10. What idea of death is contained in this document? What is the tone of this address to the accused.
11. Give the terms of the imperial edict against heresies.
12. What did St. Augustine study in school? What was his feeling toward his work? What religious experience had he as a child? Why, in his opinion, was he accomplishing no good in his studies?
13. What was the object of his later study? How was he converted to philosophy? What opinion of Cicero does he express? How old was he at this time, and on whom did he depend for his education?
14. From this selection write all you can concerning the schools, pupils, and teachers of this period.

CHAPTER XLVI

THE MOHAMMEDANS AND THE FRANKISH POWER

I. MOHAMMEDAN RELIGION

God. SAY, God is one God; the eternal God; he begetteth
The Koran. not, neither is he begotten: and there is not any one like
unto him.

Man. By the fig and the olive; and by Mount Sinai, and this
Ib. territory of security; verily we created man of a most ex-
Ancient cellent fabric; afterward we rendered him the vilest of
World, 552 f. the vile: except those who believe, and work righteous-
ness; for they shall receive an endless reward. What,
therefore, shall cause thee to deny the day of judgment
after this? Is not God the most wise judge?

**Fight for
the true
faith!** And fight for the religion of God against those who
Ib. fight against you; but transgress not by attacking them
first, for God loveth not transgressors. And kill them
wherever ye find them, and turn them out of that whereof
they have dispossessed you; for temptation to idolatry is
more grievous than slaughter; yet fight not against them
in the holy temple, until they attack you therein; but if
they attack you, slay them there. This shall be the re-
ward of infidels. But if they desist, God is gracious and
merciful. Fight therefore against them, until there be
no temptation to idolatry, and the religion be God's; but
if they desist, then let there be no hostility, except against
the ungodly.

All who were
not of the
Mohamme-
dan faith
were termed
infidels ("the
unfaithful").

These shall be near unto God in the gardens of delight,—

a crowd of the former generations and a few of the latter generations, upon inwrought couches, reclining thereon, face to face. Youths ever-young shall go unto them round about with goblets and ewers and a cup of flowing wine. Their heads shall ache not with it, neither shall they be drunken; and with the fruits of the sorts they shall choose, and the flesh of the birds of the kinds they shall desire. And damsels with eyes of pearls laid up we will give them as reward for that which they have done. Therein shall they hear no vain discourse or accusation of sin, but only the saying, "Peace! Peace!" and the people of the right hand—what shall be the people of the right hand? They shall dwell among lote-trees without thorns, and bananas loaded with fruit, and a shade ever-spread, and water ever-flowing, and fruits abundant unstayed and unforbidden, and couches raised. . . .

The reward
of the
faithful.

Ib.

They (the wicked) shall dwell amidst burning wind and scalding water, and a shade of blackest smoke, not cool and not grateful. For before this they were blest with wordly goods, and they persisted in heinous sin, and said, "When we shall have died and become dust and bones, shall we indeed be raised to life, and our fathers the former generations?" Say, verily the former and the latter generations shall be gathered together for the appointed time of a known day. Then ye, O ye erring, lying people, shall surely eat of the tree of bitter fruit, and fill therewith your stomachs, and drink thereon boiling water, and ye shall drink as thirsty camels drink. This shall be their entertainment on the day of retribution.

Punishment
of the
wicked.

Ib.

II. THE DO-NOTHING KINGS

Although the line of the Merwings actually ended with Hilderic, it had nevertheless for some time previously

**Decline of
the Mero-
vingians**
(Merwings).

Eginhard,
*Life of Karl
the Great*, I f.

*Ancient
World*, 551 f.

been so utterly wanting in power that it had been able to show no mark of royalty except the empty kingly title. All the resources and power of the Kingdom had passed into the hands of the prefects of the palace, who were called the "Mayors of the Palace," and by them the supreme government was administered. Nothing was left to the King. He had to content himself with his royal title, long hair, and hanging beard. Seated in a chair of state, he used to display an appearance of power by receiving ambassadors on their arrival, and by giving them on their departure, as if on his own authority, those answers which he had been taught or commanded to give. . . .

Whenever he went anywhere he used to travel in a wagon drawn by a yoke of oxen, with a rustic oxherd for chari-
teer. In this manner he proceeded to the palace, and to he public assemblies of the people held every year for the espatch of the business of the kingdom, and he returned home again in the same sort of state. The administration of the kingdom, and every matter which had to be undertaken and carried through, at home and abroad, was managed by the Mayor of the Palace.

**Charles
Martel**
(Karl, father
of Pippin).

*Ancient
World*, 552.

At the time of the deposition of Hilderic the office of Mayor was filled by Pippin, the father of King Karl. The office seemed now to be almost hereditary; for Pippin's father, Karl, had also held it, and with great renown, since he had quelled throughout all Frank-land those usurpers who had tried to assume independent authority. He had also utterly defeated the Saracens, who were at that time attempting to establish themselves in Gaul, in two great battles, the first in Aquitaine, near the city of Poitiers, and the second near Narbonne on the river Birra, and had compelled them to retire into Spain. . . .

III. CHARLEMAGNE: WAR AND DIPLOMACY

Great and powerful as was the realm of the Franks, which Karl had received from his father Pippin, he nevertheless so splendidly enlarged it by these wars that he almost doubled it.

Conquests.

Eginhard,
*Karl the
Great*, 15.

For previously the Eastern Franks had only inhabited that part of Gaul which lies between the Rhine and the Loire, the ocean and Balearic Sea, and that part of Germany situated between Saxony and the Danube, the Rhine and the Saal, which latter river divides the Thuringi from the Sorabi. The Alemanni and Bavarians also belonged to the Frankish confederation. But Karl, by the wars which have been mentioned, conquered and made tributary first, Aquitania and Gascony, and the whole range of the Pyrenees mountains, as far as the river Ebro, which, rising in Navarre and flowing through the most fertile lands of Spain, mingles its waters with the Balearic Sea beneath the walls of Tortosa; then the whole of Italy, from Aosta to lower Calabria, where are the boundaries of the Greeks and Beneventines, an extent of more than a thousand miles in length, then Saxony, which is indeed no small portion of Germany, and is thought to be twice as wide as the part where the Franks dwell, and equal to it in length; then both Pannonias, and Dacia which lies on the other bank of the Danube; also Istria, Liburnia, and Dalmatia, with the exception of the maritime towns, which for friendship's sake and on account of a treaty he allowed the Emperor at Constantinople to hold; lastly, all the wild and barbarous nations which inhabit Germany between the Rhine and the Vistula, the ocean and the Danube, who speak a very similar language, but are widely different in manners and dress. Chief among these

The Karl
(Charles)
here referred
to is Charle-
magne.

*Ancient
World*, 554-9.

were the Welatabi, Sorabi, Abodriti, and Bæmanni, for with these there was fighting; but the rest, who were more numerous, quietly surrendered.

Alliances.

Eginhard,
Karl the
Great, 16.

The renown of his Kingdom was also much increased by the friendly alliances he cultivated with different kings and nations. Alfonso, king of Galicia and Asturias, was so bound to him by the ties of friendship that, when he sent him letters or messengers, he used to command that he should be spoken of as being Karl's man. The Kings of the Scots, too, were by his munificence so devoted to his will, that they ever spoke of him as their Lord, and of themselves as his lieges and servants. Letters are still extant from them to him which show that this sort of relationship existed between them.

**Relations
with Persia.**

Haroun, King of the Persians, who, with the exception of India, ruled over nearly all the East, was held by the King in such hearty friendship that he valued Karl's esteem above all other Kings and princes of the world, and thought that he alone was worthy to be honored by his regard and munificence. When the officers sent by King Karl with offerings to the most sacred sepulchre and place of the resurrection of our Lord and Saviour came to Haroun and announced the pleasure of their master, he not only gave them permission to do as they desired, but granted that that revered and sacred spot should be considered as belonging to King Karl. When the ambassadors set out on their return, he sent with them his own envoys, who conveyed to the King strange and curious gifts, with garments and spices and other rich products of the East, just as he had sent him a few years before, upon his request, the only elephant he then possessed.

**The eastern
emperor.**

The Emperors at Constantinople, Nicephorus, Michael, and Leo, of their own accord, also sought his friendship

and alliance, and sent to him several embassies; and since by assuming the Imperial title he had laid himself open to the grave suspicion of wishing to deprive them of Empire, he made with them the most binding treaty possible, that there might be no occasion of offence between them. But the Romans and Greeks always viewed with distrust the power of the Franks; hence arose the Greek proverb "Have a Frank for a friend but not for a neighbor."

Illustrious as the King was in the work of enlarging his kingdom and in conquering foreign nations, and though so constantly occupied with such affairs, he nevertheless began in several places very many works for the advantage and beautifying of his Kingdom. Some of these he was able to finish. Chief among them may be mentioned, as deserving of notice, the Basilica of the Holy Mother of God, built at Aachen, a marvel of workmanship; and the bridge over the Rhine at Mainz, five hundred paces in length, so broad is the river at that place. . . .

Buildings.

Eginhard,
*Karl the
Great*, 17.

IV. PERSONAL APPEARANCE AND HABITS

The person of Karl was large and robust, and of commanding stature, though not exceeding good proportions, for it appears that he measured seven feet in height. The top of his head was round, his eyes large and animated, his nose somewhat long, his hair white, and his face bright and pleasant; so that, whether standing or sitting, he showed very great presence and dignity. Although his neck was thick and rather short . . . still the fair proportions of his limbs concealed these defects. His walk was firm, and the whole carriage of his body was manly. His voice was clear, but not so strong as his frame would have led one to expect. His health was good until the last four years of his life, when he was attacked with

His appearance.

Eginhard,
*Karl the
Great*, 22.

frequent fevers, and latterly walked lame on one foot. Even in illness he leaned more on his own judgment than on the advice of physicians, whom he greatly disliked, because they used to recommend him to leave off roasted meats, which he preferred, and to accustom himself to boiled.

Exercise.

Ib.

He took constant exercise in riding and hunting, which was natural for a Frank, since scarcely any nation can be found equal to them in these pursuits. He also delighted in the natural warm baths, frequently exercising himself by swimming, in which he was very skilful, no one being able to outstrip him. It was on account of the warm baths there that he built the palace at Aachen, living there constantly during the last years of his life and until his death. He not only invited his sons to bathe with him, but also his chief men and friends, and occasionally even a crowd of his attendants and guards, so that at times one hundred men or more would be bathing together.

Dress.

Ib. 23.

He wore the dress of his native country—that is the Frankish; on his body a linen shirt and linen drawers; then a tunic with a silver border and stockings. He bound his legs with garters and wore shoes on his feet. In the winter he protected his shoulders and chest with a vest made of the skins of otters and sable. He wore a blue cloak, and was always girt with his sword, the hilt and belt being of gold and silver. Sometimes he wore a jewelled sword but only on great festivals, or when receiving foreign ambassadors. He thoroughly disliked the dress of foreigners, however fine, and he never put it on except at Rome,—once at the request of Pope Adrian, and again a second time, to please his successor, Pope Leo. He then wore a long tunic, chlamys, and shoes made after

the Roman fashion. On festivals he used to walk in processions clad in a garment woven with gold, and shoes studded with jewels, his cloak fastened with a golden clasp, and wearing a crown of gold set with precious stones. At other times his dress differed little from that of a private person.

V. EDUCATION AND RELIGION

He was ready and fluent in speaking, and able to express himself with great clearness. He did not confine himself to his native tongue, but took pains to learn foreign languages, acquiring such knowledge of Latin that he used to repeat his prayers in that language as well as in his own. Greek he could better understand than pronounce. In speaking he was so voluble that he almost gave one the impression of a chatterer. He was an ardent admirer of the liberal arts, and greatly revered their professors, whom he promoted to high honors. In order to learn grammar, he attended the lectures of the aged Peter of Pisa, a deacon; and for other instruction he chose as his preceptor Albinus, otherwise called Alcuin, also a deacon—a Saxon by race, from Britain, the most learned man of his day, with whom the King spent much time in learning rhetoric and logic, and more especially astronomy. He learned the art of computation, and with deep thought and skill very carefully calculated the courses of the planets.

Karl also tried to write, and used to keep his tablets and writing books under the pillow of his couch, that when he had leisure he might practice his hand in forming letters; but he made little progress in a task too long deferred, and begun too late in life.

The Christian religion, in which he had been brought

Ability to speak.

Eginhard,
Karl the Great, 25.

He could not write.

His religion. up from infancy, was held by Karl as most sacred, and he worshipped in it with the greatest piety. For this reason he built at Aachen a most beautiful church, which he enriched with gold and silver and candlesticks, and also with lattices and doors of solid brass. When columns and marbles for the building could not be obtained from elsewhere, he had them brought from Rome and Ravenna. . . .

Ib. 26.

VI. HIS RELATIONS WITH THE POPE

Reverence for the Church of St. Peter.

He held the Church of the blessed Peter the Apostle, at Rome, in far higher regard than any other place of sanctity and veneration, and he enriched its treasury with a great quantity of gold, silver, and precious stones.

Eginhard, Karl the Great, 27.

To the Pope he made many and rich presents; and nothing lay nearer his heart during his whole reign than that the city of Rome should attain to its ancient importance by his zeal and patronage, and that the church of St. Peter should, through him, not only be in safe keeping and protection, but should also by his wealth be ennobled and enriched beyond all other churches. Although he thought so much of this, it was only four times, during the forty-seven years of his reign, that he had leisure to go to Rome for prayer and supplication.

Crowned Emperor by the pope.

The last visit he paid to Rome was not only for the above reasons, but also because the Romans had driven Pope Leo to ask his assistance—for they had grievously ill treated him; indeed, his eyes had been plucked out, and his tongue cut off.

Eginhard, Karl the Great, 28.

Karl therefore went to Rome, and stayed there the whole winter in order to reform and quiet the Church, which was in a most disturbed state. It was at this time that he received the title of Emperor and Augustus, to which at first he was so averse that he remarked that had he known

the intention of the Pope, he would not have entered the church on that day, great festival though it was.

He bore very quietly the displeasure of the Roman Emperors, who were exceedingly indignant at his assumption of the Imperial title, and overcame their sullenness by his great magnanimity, in which, without doubt, he greatly excelled them, sending them frequent embassies, and styling them his brothers in his letters to them.

Reference here is to the emperors at Constantinople.

STUDIES

1. What is the Koran? What is the Mohammedan idea of God? What is the command of the Koran as to unbelievers? What idea of heaven does it present?

2. Describe the "Do-Nothing" kings.

3. Summarize the conquests of Charlemagne. What were his relations with other states? What seems to have been the political condition of the world at this time? What public works did Charlemagne build?

4. Describe his appearance and habits.

5. What was the extent of his education? What was his religious character?

6. Give an account of his relations with Rome and the Pope. What were the circumstances of his coronation? Why should the eastern emperors be indignant at this event? Who was the author of this selection, and how did he get his information?

INDEX

- Achæan, league, 297-301; war, 392-6
 Achilles, shield of, 81-4
 Acrocorinthus, 290
 Acropolis, 163
 Actium, battle of, 455 f.
 Admetus, 233-5
 Ædiles, 450
Æneid, 317
 ÆSCHYLUS, 69; selections, 169-74
 ALCÆUS, 69; selections, 143 f.
Alcestis, 233-5
 Alcibiades, 223-7; family and person, 223 f.; character and education, 224-6; marriage, 226; peculiarities, 226 f.
 Alcinous, palace of, 85-7
 Alexander, contrasted with Philip, 273; empire of, 276-82; character of, 280-2; burial of, 306
 Alexandria, 303-6
 Allia, battle of, 362 f.
 AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, 322; selection, 554-7
 Amon, Ammon, hymn to, 12 f.
 Amphictyony, 95
 Anaxagoras, 181
 Angels, 566 f.
 Annalists, Roman, 314
 Antigonus, 299
 Antium, 373
 Antony, M., 455-7
 Apollo, temple at Delphi, 94 f.; prayer to, 194
 Apollonidas, speech of, 300
 Apostles of Jesus, 522
 APPIAN, 321; selections, 379 f., 417-21, 425-31, 434 f., 438, 442, 446-8, 455 f.
 Appius Claudius, 376
 Arabia, products of, 22
 Aratus, 299
 Archæology, 67
 Aristagoras, at Sparta, 153-6; at Athens, 156 f.
 Aristides, 176 f.
 ARISTOPHANES, 70; selections, 196-202, 228-33
 ARISTOTLE, 72 f.; selections, 97-101, 116 f., 123-139, 176, 178, 294-6
 Armenia, 251 f.
 Army, Roman, 374 f.
 ARRIAN, 75, 321; selection, 280 f.
 Artaphernes, 162
 Assembly, Athenian, 196-200; of Pel. allies, 228; curiate, 336; centuriate, 344
 Assyria, 31-3
 Astronomy, Babylonian, 39; Greek, 306 f.
 Athens, under kings, 123 f.; timocracy, 124 f.; tyranny, 130-6; democracy of Cleisthenes, 137-40; Aristagoras at, 156 f.; affected by fall of

- Miletus, 160; in war with Persia, 162-74; and Delian confederacy, 175-9; under Pericles, 180-210; in Pelop. war, 211-40; under Spartan supremacy, 247-57; at war with Philip, 266-9; life in, 283-96
 Attalus, 303
 Augustan Age, 316, 464-74
 AUGUSTINE, ST., 323; selections, 566-8, 569-72
 AUGUSTUS, 464-75
 Aurelian, 526
 AURELIUS, M., 321; selections, 510-3
Avesta, 3; selections, 63-5

 Babylon, 33
 Babylonia, 27-41
 Barbarians, northern, 544-57
 Battle, of Marathon, 165-7; Salamis, 169-74; Mantinea, 261-4; Issus, 276 f.; Allia, 362 f.; Heraclea, 367; Lake Trasimene, 383-6; Actium, 455 f.; Milvian Bridge, 533 f.
 Beka, epitaph of, 20-2
 BENEDICT, ST., rule of, 562 f.
Bible, selections, 45-54, 521
 Blood feud, 551 f.
 Britain, 490 f.
 Brutus, 447
 Burial society, 516 f.

 CÆSAR, JULIUS, 314; selections, 444 f., 450-4; consulship, 442 f. campaigns in Gaul, 443-6; as dictator, 446-50; death, 447-9; municipal law of, 450-4
Calendar, farmer's, 404
 Callimachus, 163-7
 CALLINUS, selection, 141
 Camillus, 364 f.
 Campania, 330 f., 372-4
 Campus Martius, 472 f.
 Canuleian Law, 354 f.
 Capua, 330
 Carians, 77
 Carthage, at war with Greeks, 241-3; with Rome, 379-88; treaty of, with Rome, 361 f.; moral condition of, 542 f.
 Cassiterides Islands, 43
 Cassius, Spurius, 349, 447
 Catiline, 437-42
 CATO, 314; manner of life, 411 f.; maxims, 412-4; political life, 414; selections, 405-9
 CATULLUS, 315 f.; selection, 461 f.
 Censors, 355 f.; discipline of, 377 f.
 Census, 342-4, 453 f.
 Cephalus and Socrates, 290-4
 Chalcis, charter of, 194-6
 Chariot race, 189-91
 Charlemagne, 577-83
 Charles Martel, 576
 Cheirisophus, 254 f.
 Cheops, 6
 Choral songs, 229-31
 Christ, 521; monogram of, 533 f.
 Christianity, writers on, 322 f.; early, 521-6; persecuted by Diocletian, 531-3; under Constantine, 534-6; in late empire, 558-73; of Charlemagne, 581-3
 CICERO, 315; opposes Catiline,

- 437-9; selections, 348-50, 439-42
 Cineas, 368
 City-state, 97-102
 Classes, laboring, in Egypt, 22-6; social, in Rome, 335; census, 342-4
 Claudius, 368 f., 480-2
 Claudius Marcellus, 473 f.
 Cleisthenes, 137-9
 Cleon, 213-7
 Cleopatra, 455-7
 Clients, 335 f.
 Colonization, Greek, 103-9; Roman, 337, 372-4
 Comitia Curiata, 350 f.
 Constantine, 533-6
 Constantius, 528-30
 Consuls, 348 f., 397 f.
 Contract, of marriage, 308 f.; of apprenticeship, 495 f.
 Corcyra, 218
 Corinth, council at, 271 f.; sack of, 395 f.
 Council, at Sparta, 116 f.; of Areopagus, 128 f.; Hellenic, 167 f.; at Corinth, 271 f.; of Huns, 555
 Crete, civilization of, 77-80
 Critolaus, 392-4
 Curia, 334 f.
- Darius, empire of, 55-7; achievements of, 57-9; invades Hellas, 162-74.
 Datis, 162
 Decius, persecutes Christians, 525 f.
 Decline of Rome, 537-43
- Delos, 212; confederacy of, 175-9
 Deluge, Chaldean account of, 33-8
 Demes and tribes, 138 f.
 Demetrius, 246
 DEMOSTHENES, the orator, 72; selections, 266-9; the general, 221 f.
 Denarius, 375 f.
 Diaus, 395
 Dictator, 349 f.; Sulla as, 431; Cæsar as, 446-54
 DIO CASSIUS, 321; selections, 358 f., 446-74
 DIO CHRYSOSTOM, 320; selection, 540
 Diocletian, 527-32, 537-9
 DIODORUS, 73 f., 315; selections, 44 f., 78, 88 f., 241-3, 277-80, 328 f., 376
 DIOGENES LAERTIUS, 75; selections, 147-9
 Dionysius I, of Syracuse, 241-3
 DIONYSIUS, the writer, 316; selections, 332, 334-8, 349-53, 362 f.
 Domitian, 490 f.
 Draco, 124 f.
 Druids, 444-6
- Ebed-Tob, 47 f.
 Economy, Greek, 103-6
 Education, of girls and women at Sparta, 112 f.; of youths at Sparta, 113 f.; "Good Old Education," 231-3; public, 294; branches of, 295; late Roman, 563, 569-72

- EGINHARD, 324; selections, 576-83
 Egypt, 5-26, 303
 Epaminondas, 258-64
 Epic Age, 81-7
 EPICTETUS, 320 f.; selection, 513-6
 Ercte, Mt., 380-2
 Erectheum, 239
 Eryx, Mt., 381 f.
 Etruscans, 328
 Eubœa, depopulation of, 540 f.
 Eumenes, 299 f.
 EURIPIDES, 70; selections, 233-6
 EUSEBIUS, 323, 535 f.
 EUTROPIUS, 321

 FABIVS PICTOR, 313 f., 344
 Farming, among Greeks, 103-5; scientific, 405-8; in Roman empire, 541
Fasti, 317
 FESTUS, 372
 Flamen of Jupiter, 339 f.
 FLORUS, 321; selection, 436
 Forum, 473
 Freedman, rise of, 491-3
 Funeral, 351; orations, 401-3; of Germans, 554

 Galienus, 528-30
 Games, secular, 468-71
 Gauls, sack Rome, 362-5; conquered by Cæsar, 443 f.; customs of, 444-6; given right to offices, 480-2
 GELLIUS, AULUS, 320; selections, 339, 356, 371 f., 377 f., 409, 424 f.

 Geography, Greek, 306-8
 Germany, country and people, 544 f.; government, 545-7; companionship, 547-9; dress, 550; society, 550-4
 Gladiatorial shows, 483
 Golden House, 482 f.
 Goths, 558-60
 Gracchus, Tiberius, 417-21; Gaius, 421-5
 Greece, sources for, 67-76; Cretan and Mycenæan civilizations, 77-80; epic age, 81-7; myth and religion, 88-96; constitutional growth, 97-102; economy and colonization, 103-10; early poets and philosophers, 141-51; during Ionic revolt, 152-61; in war with Persia, 162-74; from Persian to Pelop. war, 175-210; in Pelop. war, 211-40; during fourth century, 241-96; Hellenistic, 297-311
 Guilds, 339
 Gylippus, 221
 Gymnasium, at Alexandria, 306

 Hades, descent of Ishtar to, 38; Odysseus visits, 89-94
 Hadrian, 505-10
 Hamilcar Barca, 380-2
 HAMMURABI, 28-31
 Hannibal, 383-7
 Hebrews, 48-54
 HECATEUS, 152
 Hellas, see Greece
 Hellenistic Age, 297-311
 Helots, 114-6

- Heraclea, battle of, 367 f.
 Heretics, edict against, 568 f.
 HERODIAN, 321, 541
 HERODOTUS, 1, 70 f.; selections,
 6-8, 40 f., 45, 59-63, 74, 117-
 20, 152-60, 162-9
 HESIOD, 68 f.; selections, 103-6
 Hippias and Hipparchus, 134-7
 Hipponicus, 226
 Hittites, 8-10, 12
 HOMER, 68; selections, 81-7,
 89-94
 HORACE, 317; selection, 470 f.
 Hortensian law, 358-60
 Huns, 554-7
 Husband and wife, partners, 285
Hymn to Apollo and Diana,
 470-2

Iliad, 68; selections, 81-5
Inscriptions, Greek, 194-6; Ro-
 man, 450-4, 494 f., 505, 516 f.
 Ionic Revolt, 152-61
 Ischomachus and Socrates, 283-
 96
 Italy and her people, 326-33

 JEROME, ST., 323; selections,
 558 f., 560 f., 564 f.
 Jerusalem, siege of, 485-7
 JESUS, 521
 Jews, destroy themselves, 485-7;
 see Hebrews
 JOSEPHUS, 318; selection from,
 485-7
 Jurors, Athenian, 200-2
 JUSTIN, selections, 270-4
 JUVENAL, 318; selection, 498-
 500

 Karl (Charlemagne), conquests,
 577 f.; buildings, 579; per-
 sonal appearance, 579-81; ed-
 ucation and religion, 581 f.; re-
 lations with Pope, 582 f.
 Kings, see Monarchy
Koran, 574 f.

 Lacedæmonian confederacy, 212
 LACTANTIUS, 322; selections,
 521 f., 525, 531-5, 537-9
 Latium, 329 f., 372
Laws, of Hammurabi, 29-31; of
 Solon, 127-9; of Twelve Ta-
 bles, 351 f.; Valerian-Hora-
 tian, 353; Canuleian, 354 f.;
 Licinian, 356-8; Ogulnian,
 358; Hortensian, 358-60;
 of Cæsar, 450-4.
Letters, Epicurus to a child, 309;
 Isias to Hephæstion, 309 f.; of
 introduction, 495; to a young
 man, 497; to a dilatory son,
 497; invitation, 497; petition
 regarding robbery, 517 f.; a
 soldier to his father, 518; a boy
 to his father, 519; of Eusebius,
 535 f.; of St. Jerome, 558-60.
 Licinian laws, 356-8
 Licinius Crassus, 435 f.
 LIVY, 316; selections, 338-46,
 348-50, 354-60, 372-5, 383-6
 LUCRETIUS, 315; selections, 457-
 61
 Lycurgus, 111-3
 Lysander, 228 f.

 Macedon, rise of, 266-75; under
 Alexander, 276 ff.

- Mantinea, battle of, 261-4
 Marathon, battle of, 165-7
 Marcella, 558 f.
 Marius, Gaius, 425-8
 Marriage contract, 308 f., 565
 Massalia (Marseilles), 107 f.
 Mausoleum of Augustus, 473
 Maximianus, 528-30
 Mayors of the Palace, 576
 Media, 55-8
 Merovingians, 575 f.
 Miletus, destruction of, 159 f.
 Military rule at Rome, 417-31;
 in conflict with republic, 433-
 56
 Military tribunes, 355
 Miltiades, 163-7
 Milvian Bridge, battle of, 533 f.
 Minos, 77 f.
 Miracles, 567 f.
 Mithra, 64 f.
 Mohammedans, 574-83
 Monarchy, Oriental, 6-12, 27-
 33, 50-3, 55-9; Greek, 83,
 85-7, 100 f., 117-9, 123 f.;
 Macedonian, 266-82; early
 Roman, 334-47; from prin-
 cipate to, 480-501; Good Em-
 perors, 502-20; absolute, 527-
 36
 Money, 375 f.; making by
 Greeks, 294
 Monk, advice to, 560-2
 Mummius, 394-6
 Municipia, 371 f.
 Murdia, eulogy on, 494 f.
 Museum at Alexandria, 305
 Music, 288-90; instruments of,
 224 f.; decline of, 289 f.; Ro-
 man taste for, 409-11; earliest,
 460
 Mycenæ, civilization of, 77-80
 Mytilenæans, 213-7

Natural History, 318
 Navigation, Phœnician, 43-7;
 Greek, 105 f.
 Nebuchadnezzar, palace of, 32 f.
 NEPOS, 74, 315; selection, 258-61
 Nero, his tastes, 482 f.; his ad-
 ministration, 483 f.; persecutes
 Christians, 522 f.
Nicene creed, 535 f.
 Nicias, 221 f.
 Nile, 5 f.; hymn to, 13-5
 Numa Pompilius, 338-42
 Nun, training of, 564 f.

 Octavius (Augustus), 454-74
 Odeum, 188 f.
 Odysseus, 85, 89-94
Odyssey, 68; selections, 85-7,
 90-4, 307
 Ogulnian law, 358
 Oracle, 94 f., 159
 Orestes, 189-91
 Osiris, 17
 Ostia, 329 f.
 OVID, 317; selection, 340

 Pæan, 220
 Painting, early Italic, 376 f.
 Palace of Alcinoüs, 85-7; at
 Persepolis, 278-80; at Alex-
 andria, 305; Nero's, 482 f.
 Pan, shrine of, 163
Papyri, Greek, 309 f., 495-7,
 517-9, 525 f.

- Parilia, 334
 PATERCULUS, VELLEIUS, 317;
 selection, 475
 Paphlagonians, oath of, 467 f.
 Patricians, 335
 PAUSANIAS, 75; selections, 239 f.,
 394-6
 Peiræus, building of, 175;
 Thrasybulus at, 248 f.
 Peisistratus, 130-4
 Peloponnesian league, 111-21,
 297 f.; constitution of, 119-21
 war, 211-40
 Pericles, age of, 180-209; family
 and education, 180 f.; states-
 manship, 181-5; public works,
 185-9; on Athenian character,
 206-9
 Periæci, 114-6
 Persepolis, sack of, 277
 Persia, 59; empire, 55-65; cus-
 toms, 59-64; war with Greece,
 162-74; conquered by Alex-
 ander, 276-80; and Charle-
 magne, 578
 PETRONIUS, 318; selection, 491-3
 Pheidias, 188
 Pheidippides (Philippides), 162 f.
 Philip, master of Greece, 266-70;
 organizes supremacy, 270-3;
 achievements, 273-5
 Philosophers, 141-51; Thales,
 147-9; Pythagoras, 149 f.; So-
 crates, 225, 290-4; Plato, 288-
 90; banished from Rome, 409;
 see Aurelius, Epictetus
 Phœnicians, 42-7
 Phyle, 247-51
 PINDAR, 69; selection, 146 f.
 PLATO, 72; selections, 109, 236-9,
 288-94
 Plebeians, 335; win rights, 350 f.,
 353-60
 Plethrum, 305
 PLINY THE ELDER, 318; selection,
 375 f.
 PLINY THE YOUNGER, 320; selec-
 tions, 488-90, 502-5, 523-5
 PLUTARCH, 74; selections, 111-3,
 114-6, 175 f., 180-9, 223-8,
 243-6, 276 f., 339 f., 363-9,
 411-5, 417 f., 421-3, 426-31,
 433-7, 443-9
 Plutocracy, growth of, 397-415;
 at Rome, 417-31
 Poets, 141-51; Callinus, 141;
 Tyrtæus, 141-3; Alcæus, 143 f.
 Sappho, 145 f.; Pindar, 146 f.;
 Horace, 317; Ovid, 317; Ver-
 gil, 317
 Polemarchus and Socrates, 291 f.
 POLYBIUS, 73, 314; selections,
 297-303, 326 f., 330, 361 f.,
 380-3, 387, 389-94, 397-404,
 410 f.
 Polycrates, 254
 Pompey, 433-7
 Pope Leo, 582 f.
 Po Valley, 326
 Prayer, 193 f., 290; of Augustus,
 468 f.; of matrons, 469 f.
Precepts, Egyptian, 15-20
 Priene, 302 f.
 Principate, founding of, 464-79;
 to monarchy, 480-500
 Principia, 558 f.
 Propylæa, 189
 Proscriptions, of Sulla, 429-31

- Ptolemy, 301
 Publicola, 348
 Punic wars, 379-88
 Pyramids, 6-8
 Pyrrhus, 365-70
 Pythagoras, 149 f.

 Quirites, 469

 Rameses II, 8-12
 Regulus, 379 f.
 Religion, Egyptian, 10-15; Babylonian and Assyrian, 33-40; Hebrew, 48-54; Persian, 59-61, 63-5; Greek, 88-96; early Roman, 337-42, 349; later, 401-4; origin of, 457-9; under Augustus, 467-71; under Tiberius, 478; Mohammedan, 574 f.; Christian, see Christians.
 Republic, early Roman, 348-78; during Punic wars, 379-416; transformation to principate, 417-63
 Rex Sacrorum, 349
 Rhetoricians, banished from Rome, 409
 Rhodes, 302
 Rome, 331 f.; under kings, 334-7; becomes supreme in Italy, 361-78; during Punic wars, 379-416; from republic to principate, 417-63; under principate, 464-501; under Good Emperors, 502-20; under absolute monarchy, 527-36; decline of, 537-43; late, 558-72
 Romulus, 334-8

 Salamis, battle of, 169-74
 SALLUST, 314; selection, 426
 SALVIANUS, 324; selections, 539, 542 f.
 SAPPHO, 69; selections, 145 f.
 Sardis, taken by Greeks, 157 f.; Greek spies at, 168 f.
 Sargon, 27 f.
 Schoolboy, miseries of, 569 f.
 Schoolmaster, sorrows of, 571 f.
 Senate, Roman, 336, 349, 398 f., 480-2
 Seneca, 318
Sermon on the Mount, 521
 Sertorius, 434
 Servants, training of, 287 f.; funerals, 517; of Germans, 553
 Servile war, 434-6
 Servius Tullius, 342-6
 Sextius, 357 f.
 Shipbuilding, 242 f.
 Sicily, expedition to, 218-40; tyrant and liberator of, 241-6
 Sicyon, 299
 Sidon, 42 f.
 Socrates, and Alcibiades, 225 f.; defense of, 236; dialogue with Ischomachus, 283-8; visits Cephalus, 290-4
 Solomon's Temple, 50-3
 SOLON, 69; social conditions before, 123 f.; elegy of, 125 f.; laws of, 127-9; journey abroad, 129 f.
 SOPHOCLES, 70; selections, 189-94
Sources, introduction to, oriental, 1-4; Greek, 67-76; Roman, 313-26

- Sparta, rise of, 111-21; Aristagoras at, 153-6; supremacy of, 247-57
- Spartacus, 434-6
- SPARTIANUS, 322; selections, 505-10
- Stadium, 308
- Stone quarries of Syracuse, 222 f.
- STRABO, 1, 74, 316 f.; selections from, 5 f., 33, 42, 43, 55, 94-6, 107-9, 149, 281, 303-7, 327 f., 328-32, 472-4
- SUETONIUS, 320; selections, 442 f. 449, 454, 464 f., 478, 480, 482 f., 484 f.
- Sulla, 428-31
- Syracuse, 220 f.; tyrant of, 241-6
- Syria, 42-54
- TACITUS, 318 f.; selections, 474, 476-8, 480-4, 490, 522 f., 544-55
- Tarentum, 106 f., 365 f.
- Tarquinius, L., 346
- Temple, Erechtheum, 239 f.; of Capitoline Jupiter, 345 f.; Olympian Jupiter, at Athens, 508
- "Ten Thousand," retreat of, 251-5
- Thales, 147-9
- Thebes, attempt to gain supremacy, 258-64; and Philip, 271
- Themistocles, 175
- Theodosius, 541, 568 f.
- Theramenes, 228 f.
- Thessaly, 267
- "Thirty," 247-51
- Thrasýbulus, 247-51
- THUCYDIDES, 71; selections, 78 f., 120 f., 176, 177, 206-9, 211-23
- Tiberius, princeps, 475-9
- Tiglath-Pileser I, 31 f.
- Timoleon, 243-6
- Titus Lartius, 349
- Titus, princeps, 488-90
- Tombs, spoliation of, 15, 568; decoration of, 340 f.
- TRAJAN, correspondence with Pliny, 502-5, 523-5
- Trasimene, battle of lake, 383-6
- Treaty, earliest recorded, 8-10; between Eleians and Heræans, 121; with Ptolemy, 301; between Rome and Carthage, 361 f.
- Tribes, 334 f.
- Tribunes of plebs, 350 f.
- Tyrant, of Athens, 130-7; of Syracuse, 241-6
- Tyre, 42 f., 45-7
- TYRTÆUS, 69
- Valens, 321
- Valerian-Horatian laws, 353
- Valerius Flaccus, 411 f.
- VELLEIUS PATERCULUS, 317 f.; selection, 475
- VERGIL, 317; selections, 474, 560, 562-4
- Vespasian, 484 f.
- Vestal Virgins, 340; election of, 477
- Vesuvius, eruption of, 488-90
- Via Appia, 276

- VICTOR, AURELIUS, 321 f.; selections, 527-31
- War, Oriental, 27 f., 31 f., 56 f.; of Ionic revolt, 152-61; between Greece and Persia, 162-74; Peloponnesian, 211-40; between Alexander and Darius, 276-82; Punic, 379-88; Achæan, 392-6; servile, 434-6
- Women, Greek, 283-8; Roman, 378; German, 546 f.
- XENOPHON, 71 f., 251-5; selections, 113 f., 228 f., 247-57, 261-4, 283-8
- Xerxes, 167-9

THE following pages contain advertisements of a few of the Macmillan books on related subjects.

A History of the Ancient World

By GEORGE WILLIS BOTSFORD

Professor of History in Columbia University

Cloth, 12mo Illustrated xviii + 588 pages \$1.50 net

In the short time since this book came from the press it has met with exceptional commendation by those who have examined it and tested it in the classroom. The prominence of the author in the world of scholarship, the simple yet thorough treatment of the subject, the wealth of illustrations, the conformance of the book to modern ideas of content and method, and its evident adaptability to the practical needs of the classroom have combined to produce a most favorable impression.

W. H. PEIRCE, Head of the History Department, High School, Melrose, Mass.

"I consider it to be the finest Ancient History on the market to-day. Everything about it pleases me — maps, illustrations, all."

Miss CORA S. SANGSTER, History Department, Lafayette High School, Buffalo, N.Y.

"I am more than pleased to state that I consider it the best elementary textbook I have ever seen. It is up to date in every respect. The maps and illustrations are excellent. I feel that I cannot recommend the book too highly."

GEORGE R. HULL, Technical High School, Harrisburg, Pa.

"I am particularly pleased with the emphasis laid by Botsford on the development of ancient government, law, art, and custom; with the maps, plates, and the suggestive questions at the end of each section."

Educational Review, February, 1912.

"Professor George W. Botsford combines the most precise and accurate scholarship with extraordinary capacity as a writer of simple and well-ordered textbooks. His 'History of the Ancient World,' which has just come from the press, presents in a single volume of not too great size, a complete view of the Ancient World from the rise of civilization in the Euphrates Valley to the break-up of the Roman Empire. The work is thoroughly well done and the apparatus for the use of teachers and students, as well as the illustrations, are adequate and well chosen. The book is the best in its field."

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

64-66 Fifth Avenue, New York

BOSTON

CHICAGO

DALLAS

SAN FRANCISCO

The Roman Assemblies

From Their Origin to the End of the Republic

By GEORGE WILLIS BOTSFORD

Cloth 521 pages Bibliography Index \$4.00 net; by mail, \$4.18

"The praiseworthy character of this work is all the more to be emphasized because even Mommsen in his *Staatsrecht* failed to establish a general conception of the comitia consistent with the nature of the tribes and curiae. . . . Let us hope that the book may find many readers also in Germany. Could that be, many antiquated theories; which even here continue to find admirers and backers, would the more speedily be set aside, in fact would soon completely vanish!" — SOLTAU, in *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie* (translated).

"Professor Botsford has gone to work on a sound principle: he starts unburdened and undeflected by any preconceived theory or point of view, laboriously marshals the facts, and formulates the conclusions which the facts seem to warrant. . . . The volume will be warmly welcomed as a scholarly and judicious sifting of conflicting opinions scattered through countless books, pamphlets, and articles." — *Journal of Education* (England).

"His discussion of the terms *comitia* and *concilium* is especially brilliant and convincing. . . . To the necessity of going outside the narrow range of his subject we owe two of the most interesting and valuable sections of the book, those on the auspices and on the responsibility of magistrates for their political actions. The reviewer does not know of any such adequate treatment of these topics elsewhere. . . . The presentation in an uninterrupted form of the history of a single group of institutions has given us a clearer historical view of certain things than we have ever had before. To it we owe, for instance, a sketch of the development of modern theories upon many points in Roman constitutional history. To it we are indebted for an admirable history of comitial legislation." — Professor FRANK FROST ABBOTT, in *American Historical Review*.

PUBLISHED BY

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

64-66 Fifth Avenue, New York

A History of Rome

For High Schools and Academies

By GEORGE WILLIS BOTSFORD, Ph.D.

Professor of History in Columbia University

Half leather

8vo

\$1.10 net

"I consider it (Botsford's History of Rome) not only incomparably the best text-book there is on Rome, but without a superior in the whole historical field. And by the best, I mean something more than the most scholarly. My little tribute, which it is a joy to pay, is to excellence in structure, interpretation, and artistic presentation. A certain quality that, for lack of a better name, I call atmosphere, pervades the whole book, and the way it changes with the development of the subject from the bare, meagre, narrow life on the Palatine Hill to the great complex cosmopolitanism of the Empire, is, to me, something wonderful.

"The truth is that the difference between this 'Rome' and other text-books of the first rank is a matter rather of kind than of degree. In it the author has embodied, in a most wonderful way, within the limits of a single small volume, the life, the achievements, and the spirit of a great nation. To do that is to produce a work of art, and that is undoubtedly what this 'Rome' really is. It must be a great joy to have written it. It certainly is a joy to use it, and to watch its marked disciplinary and cultural influence on the young minds that study its pages thoughtfully."

— MISS EVA C. DURBIN, Englewood High School, Chicago.

PUBLISHED BY

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

64-66 Fifth Avenue, New York

A History of Greece

For High Schools and Academies

By **GEORGE WILLIS BOTSFORD, Ph.D.**

Professor of History in Columbia University

8vo

Half leather

\$1.10 net

"Dr. Botsford's 'History of Greece' has the conspicuous merits which only a text-book can possess which is written by a master of the original sources. Indeed, the use of the text of Homer, Herodotus, the dramatists, and the other contemporary writers is very effective, and very suggestive as to the right method of teaching and study. The style is delightful. For simple, unpretentious narrative and elegant English the book is a model. In my judgment, the work is far superior to any other text-book for high school or academic use which has yet appeared. Its value is enriched by the illustrations, as also by the reference lists and the suggestive studies. It will greatly aid in the new movement to encourage modern scientific method in the teaching of history in the secondary schools of the country. It will be adopted by Stanford as the basis of entrance requirements in Grecian history."—Professor GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD, Stanford University, Cal.

A History of Greece

8vo

Half leather

xiii + 381 pages

\$1.10 net

Dr. Botsford's "History of Greece" has the conspicuous merits which only a text-book can possess which is written by a master of the original sources. The style is delightful. For simple, unpretentious narrative and elegant English the book is a model. In my judgment, the work is far superior to any other text-book for high school or academic use which has yet appeared. Its value is enriched by the illustrations, as also by the reference lists and the suggestive studies. It will greatly aid in the new movement to encourage modern scientific method in the teaching of history in the secondary schools of the country. It has been adopted by Stanford as the basis of entrance requirements in Grecian history. — Prof. GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD, Stanford University, Cal.

A History of the Orient and Greece

8vo

Half leather

lxv + 383 pages

\$1.20 net

This book consists of the History of Greece above referred to, together with an Introductory Section of fifty pages on the Oriental Nations.

The Story of Rome

As the Greeks and Romans Tell It

12mo

Cloth

x + 328 pages

90 cents net

This volume furnishes pupils in Roman history interesting and instructive reading from the sources. It is largely narrative and biographical. The quotations form a continuous story and the difficulties have been explained in notes and references.

PUBLISHED BY

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

64-66 Fifth Avenue, New York





3 6655 00123634 7

D 52 .B7

Botsford

Botsford
A source-book of ancient
history

[illegible]

Concordia College Library
Bronxville, NY 10708

